ZANDAQA IN THE EARLY ABBASĪD PERIOD
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE POETRY

Presented By

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Thesis submitted for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
University of Edinburgh

- April 1982 -

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
ArO	Archiv Orientalni.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.
EI	Encyclopaedia of Islam.
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
GAL	Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur.
JA	Journal Asiatique.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.
K	Kitāb.
MW	The Muslim World.
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
PG	Patrologia Graeca.
R	Risāla.
RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali.
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

INTRODUCTION

The word 'Zindīq' is one of the most broadly used and ambiguous terms in the religious history of the Middle East. In the 2nd/8th century, in the early Abbasid period, there arose a heretical movement which was to become known as 'Zandaqa', the adherents of which were called 'Zindīqs' (or 'Zanādiqa'), and were to be found among the poets, writers, theologians and courtiers of the time. It was not long before they became the victims of an official persecution, which failed, however, to extirpate it completely.

Unlike most of the heresies and religo-political movements, the nature of Zandaqa, as well as its social status, is shrouded in obscurity. This is due to various factors, one of which is the ambiguity of the word itself. Although the word 'Zindīq' was initially, in the Sassanid Empire, applied to the Manichees as a pejorative epithet, by the time of the Islamic epoch its usage had broadened and it was loosely applied to Gnostic dualists, agnostics, atheists and even free-thinkers and libertines. Eventually in the later period, even up to the present time, 'Zindīq' came to be synonomous with 'irreligious'. The term 'Zindīq' and its cognates have various meanings in our sources. We are, therefore, left with the problem of determining to what degree the later application of the term coincides with its earlier usage in the 2nd/8th century. This difficulty is compounded by the general scarcity of contemporary sources and detailed

accounts.

The study of Zandaqa was first started by European Orientalists in both the Iranian and Islamic fields. Research into Manichaeism, the history of which goes back to the beginning of the 18th century,[1] developed in the 19th and the early 20th centuries, and Zandaqa, as a part of the history of Manichaeism, attracted the attention of some scholars. These researches were facilitated in the 19th century by the publication of Arabic sources, of which one of the outstanding examples is the edition with translation and commentary of the chapter on Manichaeism extracted from an-Nadīm's Fihrist by Gustav Flügel (1862). This work and other passages from authors such as al-Bīrūnī and ash-Shahristānī shed some light on Manichaeism and Zandaqa. The study of Konrad Kessler, Mani; Forschungen über die Manichäische Religion, which was published in 1889, collected all known Arabic texts relating to Manichaeism.

The first forty years of this century witnessed remarkable progress in the study of Manichaeism, mainly due to the discovery of manuscripts in Turkish, Coptic and Iranian languages, and to the scholarship of

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1. Manichaean studies, as an academic investigation rather than Christian polemic, was first started by the Protestants. Following the publication of Luther's teachings on sin and free will, the Catholics spoke of a Manichaeus redivivus, and this led some Protestant historians to investigate the life and teachings of Mani and to publish the related sources. The first comprehensive work on Mani and Manichaeism which was published in 1734 was a study by the Calvinist historian Isaac de Beausobre. (Cf. New Cath. Ency., IX, 159)

Orientalists who published fragmentary documents or studied various Manichaean matters. Although these Manichaean studies do not generally discuss the Manichees under Islam, nevertheless they help us to better understanding the question of Zandaqa. Among the authors on Manichaeism there are certain scholars, such as A.A. Bevan,[2] F.C. Burkitt[3] and G. Widengren,[4] who made passing references to Zandaqa.

The et ymology of the term 'Zindīq' had already become the subject of study as early as the 19th century, due mainly to the interest of philologists in Iranian languages and thanks in particular to the publication of Avestan and Pahlavi texts and the development of Iranian philology which threw light on the origin and meaning of the word. In 1853 Friedrich Spiegel published his article 'Zend und Zendīk',[5] in which he suggested a relationship between the Zand and 'Zindīq' and compared them to γνῶσις and γνωστικός. This view was supported by Karl Vollers.[6] In 1884 James Darmesteter in his article 'Zendīk',[7] proposed an alternative hypothesis. In a paper about the letter q in Arabic, which was delivered to the Fourth Orientalist Conference (Nov. 1926, Univ. of Allahabad), A. Siddiqi examined the word Zindīq and suggested some new ideas. Eventually the most

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2. ERE, VIII, 401-402.
3. The Religion of the Manichees, 5-6.
4. Mani and Manichaeism, 127-131.
5. ZDMG, VII, 103-106.
6. ZDMG, L (1896), 642.
7. JA, 562-565.

comprehensive study appeared in the scholarly article, 'Zandīk-Zindīq', by H.H. Schaeder,[8] in which he reviews the previous hypotheses and produces examples of the usage of the word in Pahlavi texts, and finally supports the etymological relation between zand and Zindīq.

However, both Manichaean studies and etymological studies of the word Zindīq, which mainly flourished in the period between the two wars, shed some light on the question of Zandaqa and indeed facilitated the researches of Islamicists working on the problem of Zandaqa.

The serious study of Zandaqa and the Zindīqs of the early Abbasid period, mainly started in the last decade of the 19th century. In 1892 I. Goldziher delivered his paper, 'Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Ḳuddūs und das Zindīkthum während der Regierung des Chalifen al-Mahdī', to the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, which apart from Ibn al-Quddūs examines some characteristics of Zandaqa in the early Abbasid period. In the other scholarly works of Goldziher, especially in his masterwork Muhammedanische Studien, there are some valuable references to Zandaqa. The paper addressed by C. Huart to the XIth International Orientalist Congress (Paris, 1897) under the title of 'Zindīqs en droit Musulman' is only an analytical study of a treatise on Zandaqa by Kemāl Pāshā-zāda. Impetus was given to the study by the publication of Arabic texts in the following four decades, among the most important of which is the Refutation of

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8. Iranische Beiträge, 274-296.

the Zindīq Ibn al-Muqaffa' by Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (169-246/785-860) edited and translated into Italian by Michelangelo Guidi (Rome, 1927). The fragments of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s lost treatise on Manichaeism quoted in this book gives it special importance. The book was reviewed and analyzed in an article by H.S. Nyberg,[9] which can itself be regarded as a contribution to the study of Zandaqa. In 1922 Louis Massignon discussed the question of Zandaqa in the Abbasid period and its relation with Sufism in La Passion de Husayn Ibn Mansūr Hallāj (vol. I, pp. 425-433), and a summary of his study on Zandaqa appeared in 1934 in the article 'Zindīq' in the Encyclopedia of Islam. In a brief paper about 'Manichäer und Muslime' presented to the Fünfter Deutscher Orientalistentag of the University of Bonn (August 1928) by H.H. Schaeder,[10] there is a certain emphasis on the Gnostic element in Zandaqa. In 1938 the comprehensive article of George Vajda, 'Les Zindīqs en pays d'Islam au début de le période Abbaside', was published.[11] It deals mainly with 'the external history' of the Zandaqa rather than theological matters. Thus the persecution of the Zanādiqa is discussed and the cases of certain Zindīqs are examined. Vajda starts his article with a translation and annotation of a section of an-Nadīm's Fihrist related to Manichaeism in the Abbasid period

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9. OLZ, XXXII, 425-441.
10. ZDMG, LXXXII (1928), LXXVI-LXXXI.
11. RSO, XVII, 173-229.

and his list of alleged Zindīqs. He then discusses the official persecution during the reign of al-Mahdī, his main source here being the accounts of aṭ-Ṭabarī, and then proceeds to examine some individual examples of Zanādiqa. The scarcity of documents and the obscurity surrounding many cases prevented Vajda from reaching any conclusion with any degree of certainty, although he does suggest certain hypotheses such as a relationship between Zandaqa and Shiism and Shu'ūbism. Few studies have been done on this subject since 1940, the major exception being Francesco Gabrieli's article 'La Zandaqa au I^{er} siècle Abbasside'.[12]

Scholars in the Islamic countries have not paid serious attention to the study of Manichaeism and Zandaqa, with the exception of S.H. Taqizadeh, whose articles on Manichaeism, in both English and Persian, contributed to the study. It was with his encouragement that Aḥmad Afshār-Shīrāzī collected and published Arabic and Persian texts relating to Manichaeism in 1955. Here the name of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn should also be mentioned for some of his discussions in Ḥadīth al-Arbi'ā' (1923) in which he briefly discusses Zandaqa in the context of his criticism of certain Zindīq poets.

Since the early sixties there have been published several Arabic books which deal, either totally or partially, with Zandaqa. Among these are Muḥammad

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12. L'élaboration de l'Islam, 23-38.

Nabīh Ḥijāb's ash-Shu'ūbiyya wa-Maẓāhiruhā fī l-Adab al-'Arabī (1961), Samīra Mukhtār al-Laythī, az-Zandaqa wa-sh-Shu'ūbiyya wa-Intiṣār al-Islām wa-l-'Urūba 'alayhā (1968) and Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Ḥ ūfī, at-Tayyārāt al-Madhhabiyya bayn al-'Arab wa-l-Furs (1962). These books, which were written at the zenith of Arab nationalism, are superficial treatments of the subject arriving at the conclusion that Zandaqa was merely another Persian conspiracy against the Arabs and Islam.

Other studies in Arabic and Persian which could be regarded as serious are either translations from the above-mentioned works of the Orientalists such as 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Badawī, Min Ta'rīkh al-Ilḥād fī'l-Islām (1945), or compilations based on those works such as Aḥmad Amīn's Duḥā al-Islām (Cairo, 1938; vol. I pp.137-158), Shawqī Ḍayf, Ta'rīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī (Cairo, 1966, vol. III, pp. 74-83) and the article of 'A. Zarrīnkūb, 'Zandaqa va Zanādiqa' (Rāhnamā-ye Kitāb, VII (1965), 262-271). They do not, however, present any new research or make any significant contribution to the study.

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Our primary sources can be divided into three categories: historical, literary and religious. The historical sources offer brief information about the persecution of the Zanādiqa. Of these the Annals of aṭ-Ṭabarī (d. 310/919) occupies an important place, since it contains relatively more information about the

Persecution and the names of the arrested Zindīqs. Al-Wuzarā' wa-l-Kuttāb of al-Jahshiyārī (d. 331/949) is of secondary importance, containing certain valuable information about the Persecution and certain Zindīqs. The other historical works, such as at-Ta'rīkh of al-Ya'qūbī (d. 284/897), Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil of al-Azdī (d. 334/ 946) , Murūj adh-Dhahab of al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) and al-Bad' wa-t-Ta'rīkh of al-Maqdisī (4th/10th cent.) give very brief accounts of the Zanādiqa and the Persecution. The later sources, such as al-Kāmil of Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1232) and al-Bidāya wa-n-Nihāya of Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1372) do not shed any new light, since their accounts are mainly repetitions of the earlier sources. The historical works of al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048), Chronologie and India, although not directly concerned with Zandaqa, nevertheless provide us with some valuable material on Manichaeism taken from Arabic Manichaean books which were available at the time of the author.

One of our most important sources is al-Fihrist of an-Nadīm (d. 385/995). In a section of chapter IX of the book, under the title of 'Manichaeism' (madhāhib al-Manāniyya) there can be found Mani's biography and a list of his books, together with an exposition of Manichaeism, its doctrine, mythology and rituals. More important for our purpose is the account of the Manichaean leadership (imāma) after Mani, which offers unique information about the leadership of the Manichaean

community in Iraq in the Islamic period. Finally there is a list of the Muslims accused of Zandaqa (Manichaeism). This 'heterogeneous' list, as it was described by L. Massignon,[13] must be critically examined, for not only is there uncertainty concerning the usage of the term 'Zandaqa' in many cases, but the list iself is not complete since it omits many Zindīqs mentioned in the other sources. However, an-Nadīm's accounts of Manichaeism which were taken directly from Arabic Manichaean books are regarded as some of the most reliable data about Manichaeism and are supported by other Manichaean works discovered at the beginning of this century. It is because of its authenticity that this chapter of al-Fihrist has attracted so much attention. In 1862 it was edited, translated and annotated by Gustav Flügel. Ten years later Flügel published his admirable edition of the whole text of al-Fihrist. The recent edition of R. Tajaddud (Tehran, 1971), to which we have referred in the present work, although based on a better manuscript, is not free of misreading and printing errors.

Among non-Arabic sources, mention should be made of The Chronicle of Michael the Syrian (1126-1199 A.D.) the patriarch of the Jacobite church in Antioch, written about 586/1190. An account of the Persecution given by Michael is remarkable, since it is not found in the

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13. EI^1, IV, 1228b.

Arabic sources, because it was either unknown to them or was ignored. The same account in the later Syrian work The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus (d. 685/1286) is more likely to have been from The Chronicle of Michael.

Concerning the theological dimensions of Zandaqa, contemporary sources are very scant. Not only is there no trace of the Arabic Manichaean treatises, but most of the Islamic refutations written against them in the early Abbasid period have also failed to survive. However, the main issues argued by the Manichaean Zindīqs can be found in most of the theological books of the next generation such as Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn of al-Ash'arī (d. 324/935), at-Tawḥīd of al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944), at-Tawḥīd of aṣ-Ṣadūq (d. 381/991) and at-Tamḥīd of al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013). One of the early refutations which survived (and was published by M. Guidi in 1927) is ar-Radd 'alā-z-Zindīq al-La'īn Ibn al-Muqaffa' by the Imam Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm, which recounts some of the arguments put forward by the Zanādiqa. The Kitāb al-Intiṣār, a refutation by the Mu'tazilite theologian al-Khayyāṭ (d. after 300/912) against Ibn ar-Rāwandī (d. c. 250/864) edited by H.S. Nyberg (1925) also contains some information about views of the Manichaean Zindīqs.

Apart from the many theological works of the Mu'tazilites, Ash'arites and Shiites, some treatises written by the Ahl al-Ḥadīth are also of great significance. The earliest is apparently ar-Radd 'alā

z-Zanādiqa wa-l-Jahmiyya by the Imam Ibn Ḥanbal (164-241/780-855) which refutes the ideas of so-called Zindīqs concerning the interpretation of the Koran. Although Ibn Ḥanbal as well as ad-Dārimī (d. 280/894) in ar-Radd 'alā l-Jahmiyya and al-Maṭaṭī (d. 377/987) in at-Tanbīh wa-r-Radd 'alā Ahl al-Ahwā' wa-l-Bida' broadened the application of the word 'Zindīq' and also applied it to certain Islamic sects, these books are, nevertheless, useful for showing the traces of Zandaqa and its probable influence on some Islamic heresies.

Certain dialogues between the Muslim theologians and the Zanādiqa are recorded in some Shiite books of traditions, such as al-Kāfī of al-Kulaynī (d. 329/940), at-Tawḥīd of aṣ-Ṣadūq (d. 381/991) and al-Iḥtijāj 'alā Ahl al-Lijāj of aṭ-Ṭabrisī (5th/11 cent.), as well as in some literary and historical sources like al-Ḥayawān of al-Jāḥiz, 'Uyūn al-Akhbār of Ibn Qutayba and al-Fihrist of an-Nadīm. These disputations indicate the standpoints of the Manichees and agnostic Zindīqs.

Of the books of heresiography some fragmentary materials can be gathered. Apart from the general information about Manichaeism, the ideas of certain Muslim heretics known as Zindīqs are stated in al-Farq bayn al-Firaq of al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), al-Faṣl fi-l-Milal wa-l-Ahwā' wa-n-Niḥal of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1063) and al-Milal wa-n-Niḥal of ash-Shahristānī (d. 548/1153). As the information given by these sources is based upon

the earlier lost works, they are valuable. The heresiographical sources are also useful for tracing the Manichaean influences on some early heretical sects.

The third category of sources, literary works, is important as the majority of the so-called Zindīqs were to be found among the poets and writers. The primary sources for the poets, which are the collections of their poems, have been largely lost. Not only the works of less-known poets, but even those of the prominent poets of the early Abbasid period have failed to survive intact. While the loss of a poet's works is a major obstacle to understanding his ideas and views one can, nevertheless, gain some insight into the poet from the surviving fragments of his poems and the biographical accounts of him in the literary sources.

Among the most valuable sources for the Zindīqs are the works of al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868), who was contemporary with certain Zindīqs of the early Abbasid period. In his K. al-Ḥayawān, he devoted a section to the Zanādiqa, their doctrine, beliefs, rituals and behaviour. Although he applied the word Zindīq to Manichees, it is doubtful whether many of the poets listed by him as Zindīqs were Manichees. In al-Bayān wa-t-Tabyīn and some treatises of al-Jāḥiẓ, some fragmentary information can be found about the Zandaqa movement. However, despite some confusion found therein the accounts of al-Jāḥiẓ may be regarded as among the most valuable primary data on Zandaqa.

Another important literary source is the K. al-Aghānī of Abu l-Faraj 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī (284-360/897-970), which contains biographical data about a number of Zindīq poets as well as much detail about social life in the Umayyad and Abbasid periods. Abu l-Faraj's information in al-Aghānī is based on both oral narratives and written books, although he relies, as an-Nadīm (p. 128) says, on the written sources more than the oral. He in fact preserved the information of these books, most of which were lost. The wording of the account narrated in al-Aghānī seems likely to be generally the wording of the original sources. Thus the accusation of Zandaqa in the case of Zindīq poets comes from the sources rather than from the author's pen.[14] Al-Aghānī provides us with very important information about Zandaqa which is not found in other sources. Al-Iṣfahānī's accounts of Zandaqa and the biographies of the Zindīqs have been quoted in some later sources such as al-Amālī of al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) and Wafayāt al-A'yān of Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282).

The biographical data concerning Zindīq poets in sources such as Ṭabaqāt ash-Shu'arā' of Ibn al-Mu'tazz (247-296/861-908), Mu'jam ash-Shu'arā' of al-Marzubānī (296-384/882-994) and ash-Shi'r wa-sh-Shu'arā' of

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14. A comparison between certain accounts in al-Aghānī and some earlier sources proves this hypothesis; see for example the account of the Zandaqa of the three Ḥammāds in Aghānī (D), XIV, 322, Ibn Qutayba, ash-Shi'r wa-sh-Shu'arā', II, 779 and Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭabaqāt ash-Shu'arā', 69.

Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) is mainly included in the K. al-Aghānī. Some books are especially important for the biographies of certain poets such as al-Awrāq of aṣ-Ṣūlī (d. 330/941) for Abān al-Lāḥiqī, and ash-Shābushtī's Diyārat for Muṭī' b. Iyās.

In R. al-Ghufrān, Abu l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (363-449/973-1057) replying to Ibn al-Qāriḥ, his contemporary of Aleppo, gives some information about Zandaqa in the Abbasid period. But these accounts, as well as those of R. Ibn al-Qāriḥ, do not contain any new statements, since they can be found in earlier literary sources such as al-Aghānī.

In the later sources, from the 6th/12th cent., hardly any further information is to be found, since their accounts of the Zindīqs and Zandaqa are either repetition or abridgments of previous sources. A survey of the book of A. Afshār-Shīrazī, in which the texts concerning Manichaeism are collected from books of the first to the thirteenth centuries, confirms this. This is also the case with texts relating to the question of Zandaqa.

It is worth noting that a treatise was written about the term 'Zindīq' by the celebrated Turkish scholar Kemāl Pāshā-zāde (d. 940/1534). This tract was written in the context of the trial of a heretic accused of Zandaqa by the name Qābiḍ al-'Ajamī (d. 934/1527), who was executed in accordance with the fatwā issued by the author, who at the time held the post of Shaykh

al-Islam. However, this treatise does not contain any information about Zandaqa of the Abbasid era, though it could be useful for the study of the later development of the term.

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The last fifty years has witnessed an enormous increase in the publication of Arabic texts, and in the study of Arabic literature and Islamic history. It is, therefore, appropriate to attempt once again to study the Zandaqa movement in the light of the materials now available. The present study arose from a consideration of the fact that there has been no comprehensive study of Zandaqa in recent years. While the research which went into this study is intended as a detailed and comprehensive review of some dimensions of the subject, it should be regarded as only an attempt to approach a greater understanding and cannot pretend to reach any definite conclusions, in view of the general lack of detailed source material and the nature of the subject.

As incidences of Zandaqa were associated with the poets of the early Abbasid period more than with any other social group, this study will focus on the cases of poets accused of Zandaqa in an attempt to assess the influence of the movement in the cutural history of the Abbasid era.

Since the evolution of the term 'Zindīq' is essential for any proper understanding of the subject, the first chapter is devoted to the origin and et ymology of the

word with reference to the studies and hypotheses suggested by philologists. In this chapter there is an examination of the development of the term in Arabic, which has up to now failed to attract the attention of scholars. This study of the term in Arabic and its different applications is based on Arabic texts from between the 2nd/8th and 4th/10th century.

As 'Manichee' was the initial application of the term 'Zindīq', the second chapter is devoted to a study of the spread of Manichaeism in Islamic Iraq. A brief overview of Manichaeism is given by way of an introduction to the study of the incidence of Manichaeism among the Arabs and the examination of the cases of certain pre-Islamic Arabs accused of Zandaqa. The examination of these cases, in fact, would shed some light on our subject. There follows a study of Manichaeism in the first two centuries of Islam with reference to the leaders of the Manichaean Church and their social status, together with a survey of Manichaean and anti-Manichaean literature in Arabic, which illustrates the intellectual influence of Manichaeism. However, no attempt has been made to deal with the theological dimension of the subject except in so far as it is relevant to the historical development.

Chapter three is devoted to Zandaqa and licentiousness. From among the other applications of Zandaqa, licentiousness has been especially examined, for it was more commonplace among the poets and is consequently closely related to

the subject. Some applications of the term 'Zandaqa', which found greater currency in theological circles, have not been specifically examined, as they are beyond the scope of this study.

As certain Zindīq poets are said to have also been Shu'ūbīs, Shu'ūbism is examined in the light of its supposed relationship to Zandaqa which has been suggested by some scholars.

In the fifth chapter, the official persecution, the social position of the Zindīqs and the attitude of the people and the state towards them are discussed. Chapter six consists of a detailed examination of the six most prominent Zindīq poets of the early Abbasid period, who were accused of Zandaqa.

This study concludes with four appendices, in the first of which mention is made of all personages accused of Zandaqa. The list is classified according to the social status of the alleged Zindīq. This list includes references to the sources in which the accusation of Zandaqa is made. There are some annotations in this list, which is hoped may contribute to a further study. The other two appendices consist of some notes on certain poems which are related to Zandaqa.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisors, Professor Elwell-Sutton and Dr. Michael McDonald, for the patient and courteous assistance I have received in every phase of this work. I am also grateful to the staff of the University Library and in

particular to the Inter-Library Loan Service, for their help in securing source materials.

I. THE WORD ZINDĪQ
(A PHILOLOGICAL STUDY)

a. The Origin and Etymology

b. In the Pahlavi Texts

c. In Arabic

a. The Origin and Etymology

From the ninth century A.D., the word 'zindīq' has attracted the attention of Muslim scholars, and has been the subject of etymological studies. The effort to find out the origin of this Arabic loan-word not only contributes to lexicographical studies, but also sheds light on the evolution of the word, thus providing better understanding of the origin and history of Zandaqa. Thus as well as philologists, historians and heresiographers examined its etymology.

Although our classical sources unanimously agree that the word 'zindīq' is of Persian origin, they differ entirely about its origin. In fact the historical progress of the word and its development as a theological term has made it as difficult for philologists to find its Persian origin as to give it a meaningful and comprehensive definition.

Ibn Durayd (223-321/832-934), the lexicographer, citing his master Abū Ḥātim (d. 255/868) held that the origin of 'zindīq' is zindakar (زندکر or زندهکر) which is a combination of zinda meaning life, and kar (or gar) meaning actor, the resulting compound signifying a man who believes that Time (Dahr) is everlasting.[1]

This view was taken up by Ibn Sīda[2] and Ibn Manẓūr.[3]

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1. Jamharat al-Lugha, III, 504-505.
2. Al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ, s.v. ZNDQ.
3. Lisān al-'Arab, s.v. ZNDQ.

Al-Jawālīqī quotes Ibn Durayd's opinion but opts for the form zindakard rather than zindkar, and, according to the edited text, all the manuscripts are consistent on this point.[4] This spelling, namely with insertion of the 'd' is preferred by as-Suyuṭī, who took al-Jawālīqī as his source.[5]

The later lexicographer al-Muṭarrizī (d. 616?/1209?) derived 'zindīq' from zinda, incorrectly attributing this view to Ibn Durayd.[6] Al-Jawālīqī, while accepting zindakard also cited zīnda as well,[7] which must be a form of zinda.

These derivations, however, are influenced by the later usage of 'zindīq' (which was used in the same sense as Dahrī),[8] and thus cannot be justified.[9]

The other derivations such as zan-dīn (the religion of women)[10] are so ridiculous as not to merit serious consideration.

The most widely known etymology is that which

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4. Al-Mu'arrab, 215.
5. Al-Muzhir, I, 278.
6. Al-Mughrab, I, 230. Cf. al-Khafājī, Shifā' al-Ghalīl, 112; Ibn Kamāl, R. az-Zindīq, 47.
7. Al-Mu'arrab, 215.
8. See below, pp. 53-56.
9. A. Siddīqī, referring to Ibn Durayd's view, notes: "*zindkar (=zindag + kar) means in Middle Persian the giver of life. In one of the Turfān Fragments (no. 311) the word occurs twice and is applied to Mani himself: 1) '... O Mani the Lord, the giver of life. He gives (new) life to the dead....' 2) 'O Luminous Mani! of increasing glory, giver of life.' In spite of that it can hardly be asserted that zindīq is to be derived from zindkar." (Proc. of the IVth Or. Conf., 228).
10. Al-Fīrūzābādī, al-Qāmūs, s.v. ZNDQ.

derives 'zindīq' from the Zand, the commentary to the Avesta. The historian al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) writes:

> "The word Zindīq was created during the time of Manī, to whom Zandaqa is attributed. When Zoroaster had brought the book Bistah /= Avesta / to the Persians in their ancient language, he gave it a commentary (tafsīr) which is the Zand. Then he added a gloss (sharḥ) to this commentary, which he called Bāzand /¯ Pāzand ¯/. Thus, the Zand contained the explication (ta'wīl) of the previously revealed book. Therefore, all who diverged from the Avesta, or revealed book, in this religion, in order to conform with the Zand, that is the commentary, were called Zandī. This was taken from the name of this commentary, which shows that they had moved away from the exact letter of the revealed text to adopt the sense of the commentary, rather than the text. When the Arabs came they took this term from the Persians and Arabicised it to 'Zindīq'. The Dualists are the Zindīqs /¯themselves¯/, and to them are joined all those who profess belief in eternity (Qidam) and deny the Creation (Ḥudūth) of the World."[11]

Following al-Mas'ūdī, al-Khawārazmī,[12] as-Sam'ānī[13] and Ibn al-Balkhī[14] together with some later lexicographers[15] connected 'zindīq' with the Zand, the

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11. Murūj, I, 275.
12. Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm, 38. The author attributes the Zand to Mazdak.
13. Al-Ansāb, VI, 337.
14. Fārs-nāma, 62-63.
15. Al-Khafājī, Shifā', 112; az-Zabīdī, Tāj al-'Arūs, s.v. ZNDQ.

commentary of the Avesta.

This passage of al-Mas'udī, which derives 'zindīq' from the Zand (commentary) and indicates that the Zandī (Zindīq) replaces the actual script by an allegorical interpretation has been supported by some modern studies.[16] But his statement that the Zand, the commentary of the Avesta, and the Pāzand, its gloss, were both brought by Zoroaster does not have any historical ground.[17] It may be helpful to make some brief observations on this subject here.

In ancient times a commentary was written on the Avesta in the Avestan language, which has not survived, except for some fragments which are mixed with the present text of the Avesta. The ancient commentary was translated into Parthian Pahlavi during the Arsacid period. It was later rendered into Sassanian Pahlavi. The latter, which is commonly known as the Zand, is the version which is now extant. Pāzand was a form of the Pahlavi language, in which the Aramaic words (huzvarish) were replaced by the modern Persian ones. The process took place in the second-third centuries after Islam. There is a commentary on some parts of the Avesta in this language. It does solve some problems of the Zand, and could be regarded a gloss of the Zand as al-Mas'udī states it to be. However, the Zand and Pāzand

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16. See below, pp. 29-30.
17. In the story of Zardusht, al-Mas'ūdī repeats the same statement, Murūj, I, 253.

were compiled centuries after Zardusht, even though the Zoroastrians believe in the revelation of the Zand as well as the Avesta.[18] In his statement, al-Mas'ūdī probably reflects the Zoroastrian point of view in saying the Zand and Pāzand were both brought by Zardusht.

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Since the early nineteenth century, with the rise of historical philology and comparative linguistics on one hand, and the development of Manichaean studies on the other, the word zindīq has been subjected to many philological studies by European scholars. Archaeological finds as well as the publication of texts have thrown more light on the history of the word.

It is now generally accepted that 'zindīq' is an Arabicised form of the Persian zandīk. But with regard to the origin and etymology of the word zandik different hypotheses are suggested. There are two main theories: one asserts that the Persian Zandīk is a loan-word borrowed from Syriac, and the other suggests that it is of Persian origin.

It was A.A. Bevan who first suggested the Syriac origin of zandīk.[19] He claims that the Syriac Zaddīqē which was used by St. Ephraim for the Electi (= Ar. Ṣiddīqūn), the most important group within the Manichaean hierarchy, was taken by the Persians in the Sassanid period and was Persianized into zandīk, and

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18. Cf. M. Mu'īn, Mazdayasnā, 208-220.
19. ERE, VIII, 398b no. 5; E.G. Browne, Lit. Hist. of Persia, I, 159.

was later used in a broader sense and applied to the Manichees in general. The substitution of 'nd' for 'dd' is a phonetical change, for which there are some analogies such as:

Siddhānta (Sansk.)	Sindhind[20]
Shabbath (Heb.)	Shanbadh

This theory has been rejected by some scholars on both historical and linguistic grounds. In his article on the letter q, A. Siddiqi, examining the word zindīq, refutes A.A. Bevan's hypothesis by arguing that the sources such as al-Fihrist, in which the word zindīq was used for the Manichees on one hand and Ṣiddīqūn for the group of the Manichaean Electi on the other hand, do not give the slightest hint as to any relation or affinity between zindīq and ṣiddīq or its Aramaic equivalent, which Bevan considers to be the origin of the Persian word zandīk. In addition, the assumed change of dd of ziddīqē to nd, which relies upon the conversion of the Sanskrit Siddhānta in Sindhind is not sufficient to prove the case, because the first

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20. This was an Indian astronomical technique which was used by the Muslims from the early Abbasid period with the translation of certain Indian treatises (see D. Pingree '‘Ilm al-Hay'a', EI^2, III, 1136a, 1137a). H.H. Schaeder points out that in our analogy we can hardly refer to this word which seemingly was not used until Islamic times when it was formed by the Arabic speaking peoples. He assumes that the word is an arbitrary transformation of the Indian word playing on the two names for India: 'Sind' and 'Hind' (Iranische Beiträge, I, 274.

n in Sindhind might simply be due to the influence of the n in Siddhanta.[21]

Furthermore, H.H. Schaeder points out that discoveries of Manichaean texts in Turfān show that in the Manichaean literature in a form of the Middle Persian language, the group of Electi are referred to by the words Vizidagān (the chosen ones. Ar. al-Mujtabayn) and Ardavān (the veracious ones. Ar. aṣ-Ṣiddīqūn) rather than by Syriac Ziddīqē or Zandīk.[22]

It is now generally accepted that the word zandīk is originally Persian, but there are various theories concerning its etymology.

a. J. Darmesteter rejecting any connection between zandīk and the Zand (the commentary of the Avesta) builds his assumption upon an Avestan word. The word zanda (زرد سروده) occurs twice in the Avesta (Yasna, LXI,3; Vandīdād, XIIX, 55, 59) and in both places is used with yātumant which means magician. These passages in the Avesta are curses against the zanda and yātumant, and the two words are considered to be nearly synonymous.[23] In Pahlavi zanda is translated as zand, and the gloss adds: "Zand pagtambar i yatūkan upun zand yātūkīh shāyat kartan : Zand is the prophet of Magicians and through the mediation of zand one can practice sorcery." The

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21. Proc. and Trans. of the IV Or. Conf., 229-230.

22. Iranische Beiträge, I, 282.

23. In the book An Old Zand-Pahlavi Glossary (p. 30, 70) the word zinda is mentioned as an adjective for yātumant: "zinda yātumanta : zend jāduk".

reading of pagtambar i yātukān has another possibility which is pagtambari yātūkān, which is preferred by Darmesteter, in which case the meaning of the phrase would be the law of magicians, and zandīk would mean a magician.[24]

Because those passages of the Avesta to which Darmesteter refers are from the younger Avesta, and on the other hand zanda is unknown in the rest of the Avesta, H.H. Schaeder[25] came to the conclusion that this part of the Avesta might be a retranslation from Middle Persian, a phenomenon which is not unusual in the younger Avesta. Thus, being aware of the fact that not every word of the Avesta dates back to the pre-Middle Persian period, we can hardly accept Darmesteter's hypothesis that this is the earliest form of the word.

b. A. Siddiqi, deriving the word from the Persian root of zan (dān : to know), says that zandīk must have been used in the sense of γνωστικός originally meaning and applied to 'heretics' afterwards. He adds that "the original meaning of the word must have lived side by side with the secondary meaning till the time when the Arabs began to use the word in their language and knew that it also meant naẓẓār fī l-umūr .[26]

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24. JA (1884), 562-564.

25. Op. cit., 286-287.

26. Siddiqi, op. cit., 230.

This derivation and comparison between zandīk and γνωστικός , which had been suggested earlier by Spiegel and Karl Vollers,[27] have been regarded as highly unsatisfactory.[28]

c. The most accepted etymology is the one which derives it from zand meaning commentary. Considering its formation zandīk can only be an adjective of zand. In the Avesta the word zand is found in the compound form of mat azant (/in accordance/ with the exegesis),[29] and there is no doubt that the word zand existed before the Sassanid period, when the Middle Persian paraphrases of the Avesta took shape. So the adjective form zandīk possibly existed as early as the time of Mani. The word zandīk meaning 'interpreter' - or as al-Mas'ūdī expresses it, using the Islamic term mu'awwil - was applied to the Manichees from their early days by their opponents as may be gathered from the Pahlavi and Armenian texts.

J. Darmesteter, rejecting any connection between zandīk and the Zand, argues that there are no dogmatic differences between the Avesta and its Pahlavi Targuman as it has survived until today.[30] But H.H. Schaeder points out that the heretics do not get their name from following the traditional Zand instead of the Avesta, but because they had their own allegorical explanation

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27. ZDMG, VII (1853), 103-104; L (1896), 642.
28. H.H. Schaeder, op. cit., 277.
29. Yasnā, LVIII, 8; Vispered, XIV, 1; XVI, 0. For further study cf. H.H. Schaeder, op. cit., 277, n.5.
30. JA (1884), 563

and interpretation (zand).[31] Mani took up the dualist idea which was laid down in Zoroastrianism and developed it in such a radical way as to cause anger among the Zoroastrians. On the other hand we know from the Turfan discoveries that Mani shaped his sermons according to his audience; when he was preaching to the Persians his sermons had a different appearance from his sermons to the Christians of Mesopotamia. He in fact employed a number of Zoroastrian terms and gave them a new sense to express his own doctrine (e.g. 'Ohrmazd' for the Original Man, and 'Mithra' for the Living Spirit). Thus with regard to the methods of the Manichaean missionaries, they could be called 'interpreters' or Zandīks.[32]

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31. Schaeder (op. cit., 280-281) gives a reference to a difficult verse of the Gatha (Yasnā, XXX, 3), where the word yamā (twin) which refers to the first spirit (mainyu pouruyē), has not been translated in the Pahlavi translation of the Avesta, probably because of the theological difficulty that it might imply that the good and evil spirits were not originally separated. Indeed the Pahlavi book Dīnkart (written in the 9th cent.) gives an explicit warning not to interpret the Gatha (in the paragraph mentioned above) in a heretical way as the Zandīks do.

32. It is noteworthy that in the later period the Manichees have also been criticised for their mis-interpretation of the Holy Word. Following his conversion to Christianity, St. Augustine fought for some 15 years to save the Bible from Manichaean interpretation (New Catholic Ency. IX, p. 155). In the 11th century A.D. the bishop of Chalons complaining about the so-called Manichees of his area says: "They... abhor marriage, shun the eating of meat and believe it profane to kill animals, presuming to assimilate to their heresy the words of the Lord." (R.I. Moore, The Birth of Popular Heresy, 22).

b. In the Pahlavi Texts

The word 'zandīk' (زندیک), and its abstract noun 'zandīk(g)īh' occurs in some Pahlavi texts, and is applied generally to Manichees.

The oldest text which mentions 'zandīk' is Kartīr's inscription on the Kaaba of Zoroaster (ka'ba-yi Zardusht) located at Naqsh-i Rustam in Persis (Pārs : Fārs). Kartīr, who served under the Sassanid kings, probably from about 230 to 293, was the high-priest (mobadhān mobadh) during Bahram II's reign, and wielded great influence throughout the state.[1]

After the death of Shāpūr I (241-272), who proved an exception to normal Sassanian religious policy (like his descendant Qubādh) in that he showed greater interest in Mani's religion, great efforts were expended on the restoration of Zoroastrianism as a national religion. Kartīr played the main role in the revival, and was brought into conflict with the other religions

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1. M. Sprengling, 'Kartīr founder of Sassanid Zoroastrianism', AJSL, LVII (1940), 214-215. R. Frye, 'Notes on the early Sassanian state and church', Studi Orientalistici in Onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida, I, 325-327.

There is a certain amount of controversy about the etymology of Kartīr and discussion as to whether Kartīr was a proper name or an epithet. Hertzfeld, accepting the latter, supposed that Tansar (the high priest during the reign of Ardashīr) and Kartīr were one person, while Sprengling (op. cit., 198-202) suggests that the latter is a proper name. Cf. A. Christensen, 'Abarsām et Tansar', Acta Or., X (1932), 43-55; M. Boyce's intro. to The Letter of Tansar (Rome, 1961), 8-11.

towards which he showed fanaticism and great antagonism. Not only were the Manichees persecuted as followers of a new heresy, but also the Jews, Christians and Buddhists, who all suffered under his oppression. After a number of years of service devoted to the religion of the Worshippers of Mazda and the Sassanian empire, Kartīr described his own career and achievement in an inscription dated to the reign of Bahrām II (276-293).

In lines 9-10 he claims:

> "And in country upon country and place upon place through the whole empire the works of Ohrmazd and gods superior became, and to the Mazdayasnian religion and magimen great dignity there was, and the gods and water and fire and small cattle great content befell, and Ahrīman and the devs great beating and hostile treatment befell, and the teaching of Ahrīman and the devs from the empire departed, and avagils(?) and Jews and Buddhist monks and Nazarenes and Christians and MKTKY and Zandīk within the empire were driven out."[2]

Among the religious terms mentioned by Kartīr most have obvious forms and meanings: YHWDY (Jews), SMNY and BRMNY, which taken together can be translated as 'Buddhist monks',[3] KRSTYDAN (Christians) and NS(C)R(L)Y

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2. Translation by Sprengling, op. cit., 220-221.
3. SMNY and BRMNY clearly reflects the common Buddhist expression Samaṇābrāhmaṇā found in the canonical texts of the Theravāda school (cf. Pali Text Society Dictionary, London, 1952, s.v. Saman).

(Nazarenes), although the latter has two interpretations.[4] The most obscure of the above is MKTKY which has been read, transliterated and interpreted in various ways none of which seems satisfactory. Among the suggestions which Sprengling regards as dubious is that they may have been another sect from India, Jains who seek mukti[5] or that the text should be emended from MKTY to MNYNK with the suggested meaning of 'Manichees'.[6] The latter hypothesis is hesitantly preferred by Zaehner,[7] while R. Frye guessed that it might refer to a religion or sect of Mesopotamia, perhaps a form of Mithraism.[8]

The last name among the persecuted religions is ZNDYKY (Zandīk) the subject of this discussion. Almost

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4. The term 'Nazarenes' (Sy. Nāṣorāyē) and its distinction from 'Christian', which was not clear to Sprengling, is explained by Widengren by referring to a Mandaean usage. The latter described themselves Nāṣorāyē and the Christians as Kristiyānē. Considering the many Jewish traditions among the Mandaeans and a probable link with Palestine, a connection between the term nāṣorāyē and naṣoraioi, the name of a Jewish-Christian sect may be presumed (G. Widengren, Mani and Manichaeism, 16-17. E.S. Drower, The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran, 4-5). P. De Menasce suggests that the 'Nazarenes' may be identified with the Christians who were called in Syriac Naṣorāye, and the Kristiyānē with the Marcionites (M. Chaumont, 'L'inscription de Kartīr', JA, 248 (1960), 358.
5. As Sprengling seems to suspect, it is highly improbable that another Indian sect is referred to here since designation samaṇa brahmaṇa refers to all Indian religious adepts for whom the attainment of mukti release was a universal aim. Cf. M. Chaumont, 'L'inscription de Kartīr, JA, 248 (1960) 358. (I am obliged for this note and n.3 to Mr. Paul Dundas).
6. AJSL, LVII, 221.
7. Zurvan, 24.
8. The Heritage of Persia, 286.

all the scholars who have studied the Kartīr inscription have confidently translated it by 'the Manichaeans'. Exceptionally, the late Prof. Zaehner believed that 'Zandīks' in the inscription means the Zervanites, building his argument on the passage of al-Mas'ūdī about the origin of the word zindīq[9] in which he mentions that the word zindīq is also applied to the Dahrīs (the Zervanites).[10] But his argument is not satisfactory, since al-Mas'ūdī's statement apparently concerns the later usage, rather than the earlier period, i.e., as Zaehner has assumed the period of Bahrām. Indeed, al-Mas'ūdī's passage itself is fairly explicit evidence for the meaning of the term 'Manichee'. Thus, following the almost unanimous view, we would translate the term zandīk in the inscription as 'Manichees'.

In pre-Islamic Pahlavi literature a book in which the term Zandīk occurs and is applied to the Manichaeans, is the Shāyast nē-Shāyast[11] which must have been compiled towards the end of the Sassanid era by an author whose name is unknown to us. In the sixth chapter we read:

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9. See above, p.23.
10. Zurvan, p. 38.
11. The book, like many Pahlavi works bears no title. Some of its manuscripts have been titled 'Rivāyāt-i Pahlavī'(Pahlavi Narrations). Shāyast nē-Shāyast, or Shāyast lā-Shāyast (valid, unvalid) is a title given to it by an Indian Dastūr of the last century; see J.C. Tavadia's introduction on Shāyast nē-Shāyast, Hamburg, 1930.

"Of the pure law and of the good religion are we, and of the supreme teaching are we; and of the mixed law are the disciples belonging to Sēn,[12] and of the worst law are the Zandīk and the Christians (Tarsāk) and the Jews (Yahūt) and the others who are of this sort."[13]

The law of the Zandīks, mentioned here, along with another two non-Iranian religions, must be a specific religion and not merely a general term denoting 'heresy' or the like; and Manichaeanism is the only religion that would suit this context which talks disparagingly of the disapproved religions.

In the book Dīnā-i Maīnog-i Khirad (XXXVI, 16) which probably predates the Arab conquest, the Spirit of Wisdom (Maīnog-i Khirad), while enumerating the thirty great sins, cites the sin of zandīkīh.[14] The Sanskrit and Persian glosses define it as the heresy of those who believe that blessings come from Ahriman and the demons and who ask for them (az Ahrīman o Dīwān nīkī dānad o khāhad).[15] Trying to find a connection between the meaning of 'Manichaeism' and what is suggested by the Sanskrit and Persian commentaries, H.H. Schaeder says:

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12. Mixed religion of Sēn (= Cēn : China and also Turkistan) is apparently referring either to Buddhism or a sect of it, or, as Tavadia (op. cit., pp. 97-98, n.6) presumed, to the heretical teacher Sēn.
13. Op. cit., p. 97.
14. P ahlavi Texts, Part III, 72.
15. JA, I (1884), 563.

> "One of the standing arguments is the fact that the Manichees on the one hand characterized the original power of the evil as being directed against God and purely negative, but still admitted its being full of movement, activity and procreation, i.e. they saw something positive and good in it. But people from other faiths could come to the conclusion that the Manichees 'thought well of Ahriman and Dīvs and adored them.'"[16]

In the Gojastak Abālish, a short treatise which records a dialogue between the Zoroastrian theologian Ādharfaranbagh and certain Abālish in the presence of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, the word zandīk is mentioned. We shall speak later in more detail about this treatise.[17] The author Ādharfaranbagh describes Abālish as a Zandīk.[18] Although the latter was presumably a Manichee, nevertheless the word 'zandīk', under the influence of Arabic, may have been used in a broader sense to mean a sceptical free-thinker.

To conclude this section it may be worthwhile to mention that the word zandīk is used in some ancient Armenian texts. In his book Against the Sects which was written between 441 and 449, Eznik of Kolb employs the word zandīk twice and applies it to Manichees. At

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16. Iranische Beiträge, I, 285-286.
17. See below, p.
18. Gj. Ab., ch. O.1; Chacha's ed. pp. 11, 49.

the beginning of the second chapter he compares Zoroastrianism to the teaching of Mani, then says: "If they both have the same religion, then why do the Magians hate the Zandīks so much?" On another occasion, in the story of the great Armenian revolt against Yazdigird II he quotes a high Persian magian as looking back on the time of the Shāhanshāh Shāpur and saying that he forbade the magians to persecute people of a different faith and gave the order "that the Magian, the Zandīk, the Jew, the Christian and any other should live in peace according to his own faith."[19]

Thus the word Zandīk and its application to the Manichees must have been so common in the Sassanid empire around the mid-fifth century that it was familiar even to the Christian Armenians.

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19. Schaeder, Iranische Beiträge, I, 278; quoted from German tr. by J.M. Schmidt, Des Wardapet Eznik von Kolb Wider die Sekten (Leipzig, 1900), 95.

c. In Arabic

The Persian zandīk was Arabicized as 'zindīq'. In the process it accepted two changes: the first is the change of the vowel 'a' to 'i' to fit the noun pattern fi'līl. As the pattern fa'līl does not occur in Arabic,[1] it was more convenient to adjust the vowelling of some loan-words where the initial a would be changed to i as in:

Per.	nasrīn	Ar. nisrīn
	parchīn	firjīn
	sahrīg	ṣihrīj
	sargīn	sirqīn
	shahrīz	shihrīz/sihrīz
	zarnīk (Syr. zarnīk)	zirnīkh
Ara.	qandīla	qindīl

The second change is the substitution of q for k, according to a phonetic rule applying to many Arabic loan-words, where the q is made to represent foreign k. A. Siddīqi explains the reason thus: "Since the Semite pronounced his own k with a very slight aspiration, he did not consider it to be identical with the simple unaspirate foreign k and the result of his attempt to imitate that foreign sound was a Semitic q ".[2] Therefore, the Pahlavi k (g) often changes to q, e.g. bātak > bādhaq, kurtak > qurṭaq, rūstāk > rustāq, *piyādhak > baydhaq, gerdak > jardhaq, gōzinak > jawzīnaq.

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1. Sībawayh, al-Kitāb, II, 337.
2. A. Siddiqi, 'The letter q', Proc. 4th All-India Or. Conf., II, 225. Idem, Persische Fremdworter, 73-74.

The word zindīq, the plural forms of which are zanādīq and zanādiqa,[3] is the base of the verbs zandaqa, tazandaqa and the abstract nouns zandaqa and and zindīqiyya. The latter (also the form zindiqiyya) is a rare form which occurs only in few texts[4] and has not been recorded in the Arabic lexicons.

The word 'zindīq' seems to have gained currency in Arabic in the early decades of the second century A.H., for we can find no trace of its usage in earlier texts, apart from its occurrence in a few ḥadīths, the authenticity of which is questionable.

A ḥadīth quoted by Ibn Ḥanbal (164-241/780-855) and transmitted from 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar (d. 65/684) from the Prophet says:

> "There will be metamorphosis (maskh) and defamation (qadhf) in my Community,[5] and that is in the Zindīqiyya and the Qadariyya."[6]

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3. Cf. Sībawayh, al-Kitāb, I, 8.
4. Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Musnad, VIII, 171; IX, 73 (zindīqiyya); an-Nawbakhtī, Firaq ash-Shī'a, 41; al-Ash'arī al-Qummī, K. al-Maqālat wa-l-Firaq, 64 (zindiqiyya).
5. In the Tradition, maskh, khasf (being swallowed up) and qadhf are regarded as among the Portents of the Resurrection (Ashrāṭ as-Sā'a), see the collections of the ḥadīth, ch. al-Fitan; cf. Wensinck, Concordance s.v. MSKH, QDHF, KHSF. As-Shajarī, al-Amālī, II, 255, 259, 260, 265, 268, 269, 272.
6. Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Musnad, IX, 72-73. In some later collections the last part of the ḥadīth is different: al-Haythamī, Majma' az-Zawā'id, VII, 203 (... wa huwa fī ahl az-Zandaqa); al-Baghawī, Sharḥ as-Sunan, I, 151 (... wa huwa fī z-Zanādiqa wa l-Qadariyya).

Another version of this ḥadīth transmitted by a different chain of authorities, from Ibn 'Umar from the Prophet, says:

> "There will be metamorphosis in this Community and that is in the deniers of the Qadar and in the Zindīqiyya."[7]

Because of a 'weak' rāwī (Rishdīn b. Sa'd) among its transmitters, the chain of authorities of the latter version is regarded as 'weak', while that of the first version is confirmed as 'sound' (ṣaḥīḥ).[8] Another version of the above ḥadīth quoted by at-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja does not contain the word Zindīqiyya.[9]

Apart from the chain of authorities, which is regarded as 'sound' by the muḥaddithūn, the authenticity of the text is questionable, in view of the fact that the Qadariyya did not exist as an identifiable group in the time of the Prophet. It is more likely that these ḥadīths were fabricated during the period of theological controversy, when the Zanādiqa and the Qadariyya were flourishing.[10] It might also be possible that only the

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7. Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Musnad, VIII, 171.
8. Ibid., VIII, 171; IX, 72.
9. Ibn Māja, as-Sunan, II, 1349-1350; at-Tirmidhī, as-Ṣaḥīḥ, VIII, 318; al-Khaṭīb at-Tabrīzī, Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ, I, 38.
10. It is said that all the ḥadīths concerning the sects of al-Qadariyya and al-Murji'a are not regarded as sound ḥadīth; see al-Mubārakfūrī, Tuḥfat al-Aḥwadhī bi-Sharḥ Jāmi' at-Tirmidhī, VI, 364.

last part of the ḥadīth was added by the later authorities.[11] In any case the usage of the word Zindīqiyya in the above ḥadīth cannot be taken as evidence for its currency in the time of the Prophet.

An account quoted by al-Bukhārī and Ibn Ḥanbal suggests that at the time of 'Alī (35-40/650-661) there existed 'Zanādiqa', whom he condemned to be burnt to death.[12] The word Zanādiqa, here, refers to a group of apostates, as can be confirmed by the last part of the ḥadīth[13] and other versions of it, in which 'apostates' occurs instead of Zanādiqa.[14] The term Zanādiqa, therefore, cannot here be taken as evidence to support its having been in use at the time of 'Alī or 'Ikrima (d. 105/723), the transmitter of the account, and the term must have been introduced by a later rāwī.[15]

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11. This assumption is supported by the versions of the above ḥadīth recorded by Ibn Māja, one of which contain the words al-Qadariyya and az-Zanādiqa, unlike another one in which after the text is added by the rāwī: "wa dhālika fī Ahl al-Qadar" (as-Sunan, II, 1350, no. 4061).
12. Al-Bukhārī, al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ, IV, 132; Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Musnad, I, 282; IV, 190.
13. When Ibn 'Abbās heard that they had been burnt, he blamed 'Alī and said that they should have been executed, on the basis of the Prophet's saying: "Those who change their religion, should be killed" and the fact that he prohibited burning to death.
14. Ibn Hanbal, al-Musnad, III, 264-265; IV, 190. Cf. the commentaries on al-Bukhārī: Ibn Ḥajar, Fatḥ al-Bārī, XII, 219-220; al-Qasṭalānī, Irshād as-Sārī, X, 80. A version of this account indicates that those who were burnt were a group of idol-worshippers (wathaniyyīn) from the Zuṭṭ (an-Nasā'ī, as-Sunan, VII, 105). Another version says that those 'Zanādiqa' were brought from Baṣra (Ibn Ḥayyūn, Da'ā'im al-Islam, II, 479). Al-Malaṭī (at-Tanbīh, 18) says that they were a group of the Extremists and the followers of Ibn Sabā'.
15. Another account quoted by Ibn Durayd claims that a Jew came to the Caliph Abū Bakr and asked him questions concerning God. Abū Bakr who could not answer said that

The earliest apparently authentic text which the present writer has come across in which the word Zindīq occurs is a verse composed around 119/737. An account quoted by aṭ-Ṭabarī and some later sources[16] tells us that al-Walīd b. Yazīd (88-126/706-744; reigned 125-126/743-744), the notorious Umayyad prince whose position as a crown prince had been taken from him and given to Abū Shākir Maslama the son of Hishām, was asked by the Caliph Hishām to account for his deeds and was also questioned about his faith. In reply, al-Walīd wrote two verses in which he hinted at the misbehaviour of Abū Shākir:

"O you that question us about our faith
We are following the faith of Abū Shākir
We drink wine, pure or admixed,
Sometimes with hot and sometimes with
cold water."

Abū Shākir Maslama, who rectified his behaviour, was appointed as Amīr al-Ḥajj by Hishām in 119/737 and bestowed much money upon the people of Mecca and Medina. On this occasion an inhabitant of Medīna

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they were the questions of the Zanādiqa (masā'il az-Zanādiqa) and eventually 'Alī answered them correctly. (al-Mujtanā, 35; cf. at-Tabrisī, al-Iḥtijāj, I, 312). The fabrication of this account which tries to confirm the superiority of 'Alī is obvious and here the word Zanādiqa must, therefore, be taken as a later usage.

16. Ṭabarī, II, 1742; cf. Aghānī (B), VI, 102; Ibn A'tham, al-Futūḥ, VIII, 138.

commented in verse:

"O you that question us about our faith
We are following the faith of Abū Shākir
He who gives us horse and halter
He is neither Zindīq nor Kāfir.

The implication being that al-Walīd was the one who was lax in his religion.

The exact meaning of Zindīq here, be it synonymous with kāfir or be it in reference to the dualist Manichaeans, is not certain, but as it occurs in a verse, which is less subject to distortion than prose, it may be regarded as one of the earliest usages of the word in Arabic, and its date can be supported by socio-historical evidence such as the existence of Manichaean activities at that period. The authenticity of the account and genuineness of the verses are open to doubt, but it is probable that the story, like many others, was fabricated at that time by the enemies of al-Walīd in order to defame him.

The currency of the word Zindīq in Arabic must indeed go back to this period, namely the first two decades of the second century of the Ḥijra; this is supported by the increase of the Manichees following their migration to Iraq from the East (105-120/723-738) (see below pp.105-106), the growth of theological dialogues and the rise of religious sects. As a result of this the Muslims imitated the Zoroastrians in calling the Manichees and other 'misbelievers' Zindīq. It is most likely that the word gained original currency in the Perso-Arabic

environment of Iraq, a multireligious society with a large number of Zoroastrians and Manichees. The earliest Islamic figure charged with being a Zindīq in our sources is Ja'd b. Dirham who was executed by Khālid al-Qasrī at this period, around 120/737,[17] although we do not know whether he was accused of being a Zindīq at the time or whether this label was attached to him by later sources.

It seems that even from its earliest usage in Arabic, the word Zindīq is limited to certain groups of heretics and misbelievers, apart from the Manichees and Mazdakites, although its use with reference to the Manichees in the early sources is the more common. Having no evidence of the usage of the word Zandīk (=Zindīq) in seventh century Iraq, we do not know whether the application of the word to other groups apart from the Manichees took place in Pahlavi or in Arabic. However, the various meanings of Zindīq in some Arabic texts thereafter up to the 4th/10th century are enumerated below. In many passages the meaning of the word is vague, but the evidence chosen here is taken from the clearest examples.

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17. See below, p. 273.

1. MANICHAEAN

A connection between the word Zindīq and 'Manichaean' can be traced from its early usage in Arabic and in many early texts the words Zindīq, Zanādiqa and Zandaqa obviously do denote Manichaean, Manichees and Manichaeism. A study of Mani's life as recorded in the Arabic sources draws one's attention to the fact that most of the Muslim historians who provide material on Mani and his religion, writers such as ad-Dīnawarī (d. 282?/895),[18] al-Ya'qūbī (d. 284/897),[19] aṭ-Ṭabarī (d. 310/922),[20] al-Maqdisī (4th/10th cent.),[21] Miskawayh (d. 421/1030)[22] and ath-Tha'ālibī (d. 429/1037)[23] have almost unanimously used the word Zindīq as an epithet for Mani. Since the Muslim historians' sources for pre-Islamic Iran were the Pahlavi chronologies and biographies (the Khudāy-nāmas and such like), one may presume that this term was also used as an epithet for Mani in Pahlavi literature.[24]

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18. Al-Akhbār aṭ-Ṭiwāl, 47.
19. Ta'rīkh al-Ya'qūbī, I, 139.
20. Ṭabarī, II, 830, 834.
21. Al-Bad' wa-t-Ta'rīkh, III, 157.
22. Tajārib al-Umam, I, 130.
23. Ghurar Akhbār Mulūk al-Furs, 501.
24. Some surviving religious Pahlavi texts (Dēnkart, 216, 19; 153,16. Shekand Gomānīk, X, 59, 60) refer to Mani as a false prophet (drōg ashtag) and a teacher of false doctrine (dush amor). (M. Shaki, 'The Social Doctrine of Mazdak', Ar.O., XLVI (1978), 298). Nestorius (b. after 381; d. after 451) in his work The Bazaar of Heracleides of which we have a Syriac translation from the lost Greek origin, referred to Mani as 'impious Mane' (Eng. tr. by G.R. Driver, Oxford, 1925, pp. 192, 201, 202).

Ibn Biṭrīq (d. 328/939) is probably unique among the early historians in that he did not use Zindīq as a pejorative title for Mani,[25] and is truly exceptional in this. Unlike others, he took his information on Manichaeism mainly from Christian sources, and the data he provides differ from those found in the other historians whose sources had been Persian, either directly or indirectly. Moreover, Mani, in Arabic historical sources, is regarded as the head and the missionary of the Zandaqa,[26] and the appearance of Zandaqa, as has already been mentioned, is connected to his time.[27]

One account quotes al-Manṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir (c. 50-132/c. 670-749), a strict traditionalist, as saying "No religion has ever died unless it followed the Manichees." When asked "Who are they?" He replied "The Zanādiqa."[28]

Rejecting the well-known accusation which was levelled against Ḥammād 'Ajrad (d. 161/778), Musāwir al-Warrāq (d. c. 150/c. 767) in a poem says: "/Even/ if Mani and Bardaisan and their group come to you, I will not call you a Zindīq. You are /devoted in/ worship

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25. Naẓm al-Jawhar, 111.
26. 'Ṣāḥib az-Zanādiqa' (Ibn Faqīh, Akhbār al-Buldān), 'ra'san min ru'ūs az-Zanādiqa' (al-Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, I, 244), 'dā'ī z-Zanādiqa' (Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, Sinī Mulūk, 35).
27. See above, pp. 29-34; cf al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, II, 167; al-Maqdisī, al-Bad', III, 157.
28. Ad-Dārimī, ar-Radd 'alā l-Jahmiyya, 6.

and the Unity. The Tazanduq is jugglery and trickery."[29] Ḥammād 'Ajrad, who is accused of Zandaqa, is cited by al-Isfahānī as claiming for Bashshār more knowledge than Mani about Zandaqa.[30]

In a poem, Abū Nuwas describes the face of a certain Ḥamdān as the book of the Zanādiqa, which attracts the heart.[31] The word 'Zanādiqa' here is certainly applied to the Manichees, whose books were well-known to be of high quality paper, script and illustration, as we are informed by al-Jāḥiẓ.[32]

Al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 246/860) in K. al-Ḥayawān used the word Zindīq to denote 'Manichaean',[33] although his list of Zindīq poets[34] could well be revised. Likewise in his K. at-Tarbī' wa-t-Tadwīr, he applies the term Zindīq to Manichaeans.[35] An-Nadīm in his invaluable chapter about Manichaeism frequently uses the terms Zindīq and Zandaqa to mean Manichaean and Manichaeism,[36] and al-Khawārazmi (d. 387/997) most clearly says: "The Zanādiqa are the Manichees."[37]

It should be noted that when the term Zandaqa appears in the context of other religions, it denotes

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29. Al-Murtaḍā, al-Amālī, I, 100.
30. Aghānī (B), XIII, 73.
31. Dīwān (G), 366.
32. Al-Ḥayawān, I, 55.
33. Al-Ḥayawān, I, 55-58; III, 365-366; IV, 428-429.
34. Ibid., IV, 447-451.
35. P. 77.
36. Nadīm, 401.
37. Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm, 37-38.

a specific religion, that of Manichaeism, as in the following examples:

> "We find that Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, Zanādiqa, Dahriyya and Buddhists deny the Prophet."[38]

> "Al-Qaṣabī believed that among the sinful (fāsiq) Muslims there were those who were worse even than the Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, Zanādiqa and Dahriyya."[39]

> ".... Refutation of Dualism, from the Zoroastrians (Majūs) to the Zanādiqa."[40]

2. MAZDAKITE

Occasionally the word 'Zindīq' has been used to denote the Mazdakites as well. Al-Khawārazmī, who says that the Zanādiqa are the Manichees themselves, points out that the Mazdakites were also called Zindīqs.[41] Aṭ-Ṭabarī (d. 310/922) says of King Qubādh (488-531), who was for a time a follower of Mazdak, that he abstained from eating meat and shedding blood, because of being a Zindīq.[42]

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38. Al-Jāḥiẓ, 'Ḥujaj an-Nubuwwa', Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ, 131.
39. Al-Khayyāṭ, al-Intiṣār, 81; cf. 86.
40. Al-Khawārazmi, Mafatīḥ al-'Ulūm, 40.
41. Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm, 37-38. The passage of al-Khawārazmī has been quoted in some later sources such as al-Muṭarrizī, al-Mughrib fī Tartīb al-Mu'rib, I, 230.
42. Ṭabarī, I, 889. See also the story of Mazdak in Aghānī (B), VIII, 63-64; ath -Tha'ālibī, Ghurar Akhbār Mulūk al-Furs, 604; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, Sinī Mulūk, 106, 140.

Al-Malaṭī (d. 377/987) quoting Khushaysh (d. 254/868) enumerates five sects of the Zanādiqa, two of which are the Manichees and the Mazdakites.[43]

This application of the word Zindīq is justified in view of the fact that they can be considered a Manichaean sect with a particular socio-economic character.[44] Even though some scholars have tried to prove that Mazdakism was a heresy of Zoroastrianism rather than Manichaeism,[45] this does not create problems concerning the usage of Zindīq with respect to them, since it is claimed by those who believe in a Zoroastrian origin for Mazdakism, that "after the failure of the movement and the bloody suppression of the movement, Mazdak was then condemned as a Manichaean heretic."[46] Thus whether we accept the Manichaean origin of Mazdakism or the Zoroastrian one, it does not change the fact that the followers of Mazdak from the very

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43. At-Tanbīh, 92.
44. About Mazdak, who is known as a socio-religious reformer and the founder of a primitive 'communism', we know little. It is said that Mazdak son of Bāmdād, who appeared in the reign of Qubādh (488-531) and was executed in 528 (or beginning of 529), was not a founder of a sect which is known by his name, i.e. Mazdakism (MP. Mazdagīg, Ar. Mazdakiyya); rather he was merely the follower of a sect called Drist-den (true religion) founded previously (perhaps two centuries earlier?) by Zardusht i Khwurragān of Fasā. Whether this Zardusht was a Zoroastrian heretic or a Manichaean sectary and the same as Bondos who came from the Byzantine Empire, has yet to be resolved. Cf. A. Christensen, Le règne du roi Kawādh, 96-100, Per. tr. 100-104; idem, L'Iran sous les Sassanides, 337-340, Per. tr. 360-364.
45. R. Frye, 'Methodology in Iranian History', Neue Methodologie in Iranistik, 67.
46. Ibid., 67.

beginning were called (either rightly or wrongly) Manichaeans and were consequently branded Zindīq as well. The application of the term Zindīq to Mazdakites apparently had a basis in Pahlavi literature.[47]

3. DUALIST-GNOSTIC

Some passages seem to enlarge the scale of usage of the word Zindīq and in addition to the Manichees apply it to other Dualist-Gnostic sects such as Bardaisanism and Marcion ism, the two sources of Manichaeism.[48] We have already quoted the poem of Musāwir al-Warrāq in which Bardaisan together with Mani is regarded as a representative of Zandaqa.[49]

Muḥammad b. ʻAlī al-ʻAbdī al-Khurāsānī, an intimate of the Caliph al-Qāhir (320-322/932-934) is quoted by al-Masʻūdī as stating that "during the reign of al-Mahdī the books of Mani, Bardaisan and Marcion, which had been translated from Persian and Pahlavi into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffaʻ and others, had great currency, as did the works of Ibn Abī l-ʻAwjāʼ, Ḥammād ʻAjrad, Yaḥyā b. Ziyād and Muṭīʻ b. Iyās also in support of these beliefs. Thus Zandaqa appeared and their ideas spread

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47. The accounts given by Arabic histories of Mazdak and Qubādh are taken from Pahlavi sources, and it seems probable that in these lost works the word Zindīq was applied to Mazdakites.
48. See below, pp. 74-78.
49. See above, p. 46.

among the people.[50] As far as the spread of Manichaean, Bardaisanite and Marcionite books which created Zandaqa is concerned, it seems more likely that the word 'Zandaqa' is here applied to the Dualist-Gnostic heresy, but when we turn to the works of poets like Ḥammād, Muṭī' and Yaḥyā b. Ziyād, who were, presumably, no more than licentious free-thinkers about whose supposed books nothing is known, one should retain the assumption that the word is used in a more general sense and is probably applied to general religious doubt or even carelessness towards Islamic dogma.

In one account Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) after referring to the Bardaisanite ideas says they are the strongest of the Zanādiqa in word (ashaddu az-Zanādiqa qawlan).[51] Aṭ-Ṭabrisī also refers to a disputation he had with a certain Abū Shākir ad-Dayṣānī, describing him as a Zindīq.[52]

It may be worth noting here that the word Zindīq as far as can be seen from existing sources does not seem to have been applied to the Zoroastrians. In the Islamic sources they are clearly separated and distinguished from each other (al-Majūs wa-z-Zanādiqa).[53]

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50. Murūj, IV, 223-224. We do not know, however, whether the quotation is verbatim or not.
51. At-Ṭabrisī, al-Iḥtijāj, II, 90.
52. Ibid., II, 71.
53. Cf. al-Jāḥiz, Ḥujaj an-Nubuwwa, Rasā'il (S), 131; al-Khayyāṭ, al-Intiṣār, 81, 86; al-Māturīdī, K. at-Tawḥīd, 91, 121, 244, 386.

Interestingly enough, the terms thanawiyya, ahl at-tathniyya and aṣḥāb al-ithnayn (dualists) in some sources are applied to the Manichees excluding the Zoroastrians. "/Mani/ called Shāpūr to ath-Thanawiyya ..... Then /later/ Shāpūr left ath-Thanawiyya and converted to al-Majūsiyya."[54] This may be due to the Manichaean dualism, which is the most striking characteristic of that religion. Although Zoroastrianism is also originally a dualist religion, in which the universe is divided into the domains of good and evil represented by Ahūrā Mazda (Ohrmazd) and Angra Mainu (Ahrīman), its dualist system is not "the classic dichotomy of spirit and matter found in different forms and degrees of virulence in both India and the West and reaching its clearest statement in the religion of Manichees, but it is a dualism of two rival spiritual and moral forces, good and evil, light and darkness, order and disorder, Ohrmazd and Ahriman. Matter does not essentially enter into the question at all. Indeed when it is formed or created it is formed by Ohrmazd and therefore good. Later it is true it is corrupted by Ahriman but basically it belongs to Ohrmazd and is anything but the source of evil."[55] The optimistic nature of Zoroastrian dualism

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54. Al-Ya'qūbī, at-Ta'rīkh, I, 139, 140. Cf. al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt, 308, 327, 349, 485; at-Ṭabrisī, al-Iḥtijāj, I, 16.
55. Zaehner, Zurvan, 4. The doctrine of two Spirits are stated in Yasna (30:3-4): "In the beginning the two Spirits who are the well-endowed twins were known as the one good, the other evil, in thought, word and deed. Between them the wise chose the good, not so the fools."

gives it a monotheistic characteristic, since it inculcates that Ormazd will be exalted and will gain the victory, and the good will ultimately triumph over evil.[56] Furthermore, there was a monotheistic tendency in Zoroastrianism in that they accepted a single great Primal Cause, regarded as Infinite Time.[57]

4. DAHRI

In some Arabic texts the word Zindīq is occasionally applied to the Dahrī, the person who "denies the existence of intelligible entities, divine law, a further life and retribution, and believes in the eternity of time and of matter and ascribes all that in the world merely to the operation of natural laws."[58]

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56. W. Jackson, Zoroastrian Studies, 31.
57. Cf. below, p. 55. The modern Parsees are strictly monotheist. Ahriman (Angra mainyu), they believe, is not the direct adversary of Ormazd (Ahura Mazda). The antithesis is between Angra mainyu and Spenta mainyu (Ormazd's Holy Spirit) as two spirits which form part of Ahura Mazda's own being and which unite in counter-operative-activity. They insist that it is the right interpretation of spiritual 'twins' mentioned in Yasna. See W. Jackson, op. cit., 32-33, 70-71.
58. I. Goldziher 'Dahriyya', EI^2, II, 95b. The pre-Islamic Arabs regarded Dahr 'Time' (also zamān and al-Ayyām) as the source of what happened to man both good and bad. They thus give it something of connotation of Fate, though without worshipping it. See M. Watt, The Formative, 88-91; idem 'Dahr', EI^2, II, 94-95.

This connotation of the term Zindīq was apparently common at the time of Tha'lab (d. 291/903), the philologist, since in his comments on the word 'Zindīq' he says: "Zindīq is not /originally/ Arabic, and if the Arabs wanted to express what is meant by Zindīq they would say mulḥid and dahrī."[59] The etymology which is suggested by Abū Ḥātim (see above, p. 21) is also influenced by the meaning Dahrī. A disputation between Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Malik, a Dahrī Zindīq of Egypt, and the Imam Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) is recorded in the Shiite hadith literature and the term Zindīq is applied to the Dahrī.[60] Apart from these, most of our sources do clearly distinguish between the Dahriyya and the Zanādiqa.[61]

The application of the term zindīq to Dahrīs may have had some precedents in pre-Islamic Pahlavi, although there is no obvious evidence to satisfy us on this point. R.C. Zaehner tries to prove that the Dahrīs,[62] the Zervanites[63] and the Zindīqs are identical

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59. Al-Jawālīqī, al-Mu'arrab, 214.
60. Al-Kulaynī, al-Kāfī (uṣūl), I, 72-74. Cf. at-Ṭabrisī, al-Iḥtijāj, II, 72.
61. Cf. al-Jāḥiz, Ḥujaj an-Nubuwwa : Rasā'il (S), 31; al-Khayyāṭ, al-Intiṣār, 81, 86; al-Naqdisī, al-Bad', IV, 2; al-Māturīdī, K. at-Tawḥīd, 239; al-Baghdādī, al-Farq bayn al-Firaq, 103; al-Ghazālī, Faysal, 56.
62. See below, p. 34.
63. The Zervanites, as Zoroastrian heretics, believed that Infinite Time or Zurvān (Av. zrvān-akarana, Phl. zurvān i akanarak : 'boundless time') as a Primal Cause, had supreme position over the powers of good and evil. He is regarded as the father of the primeval Twin Spirits mentioned in Yasna (30:3-4). The Orthodox Zoroastrians appear to have reacted against this heresy with vigour and made an effort to expunge all trace of Zervanites, and thus little is known about them. The principal study has been done by R.C. Zaehner in Zurvan; a Zoroastrian dilemma (Oxford, 1955) in which he collected and translated all fragmentary texts related to Zurvan.

with each other.[64] Because Kartīr, the Zoroastrian who had attempted to stamp out the Zandīks, emphasises in the Naqsh-i Rajab inscription the existence of Heaven and Hell, and the reward of virtue and punishment of vice, Zaehner concludes that these themes must be examined in the light of the divergence of views between the Zoroastrians and Zervanites, whom he held to be identical to the Dahrīs and Zindīqs. On the other hand the Shikand Gomānīk, a Pahlavi apologetic book from the ninth century A.D., mentions that the Dahrī sect which believed "this world with its manifold changes and dispositions of its members and organs, and opposition of one to another, and the intermixture of the one with the other is derived from the principle of Infinite Time, and further that virtue remains unrewarded and sin unpunished, that heaven and hell do not exist and there is none who attends to virtue and sin, and further that phenomena are only material and that the spiritual does not exist."[65] Thus Zaehner says: "If it is not this particular sect that Kartīr has in mind, it is plainly so similar as to make no difference." He then identifies the Dahrīs (=Zervanites) with Zandīks, relying on the passage of al-Mas'ūdī.[66]

Furthermore, a passage in the Dīnkart, which is written in the post-Islamic period (9th cent. A.D.) warns us not to interpret certain verses of the Gāthā

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64. Zurvan, 23, 267.
65. Ibid., 23.
66. Ibid., 24, 267; see above, p. 23.

heretically in a Zurvanite sense, which is the case with the Zandīks.[67] Nevertheless, the evidence is not satisfactory since we do not know whether the author of the Dīnkart was influenced by the Islamic usage of 'zindīq' and its application to Dahrīs or had merely followed the Sassanid Pahlavi tradition.

5. HETERODOX

After the older-established and more original meanings we come to some secondary meanings and connotations of the word zindīq which have developed in the Islamic era. Certain groups of theologians who contest dogma and interpret the Word of God under the influence of philosophy and reasoning are labelled as Zindīq by the Ahl al-Ḥadīth. The charge was levelled by some of the Ahl as-Sunna against the Mu'tazilites.

Ibn Abī Qutayla, an opponent of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth was termed a Zindīq by Ibn Ḥanbal (164-241/780-855).[68] The Qāḍī Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) is quoted as having claimed: "Those who seek religion by /theological/ arguments, will fall into Zandaqa."[69] An account previously mentioned claims that when the Caliph Abū Bakr was asked some questions about God, he dismissed them as "the questions of the Zanādiqa."[70] Although

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67. H.H. Schaeder, op. cit., 281.
68. Ibn Abī Ya'lā, Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila, 17.
69. Tāshkūprīzāda, Miftāḥ as-Sa'āda, II, 155.
70. Ibn Durayd, K. al-Mujtanā, 35. See above, p.41, n.15.

its attribution to Abū Bakr cannot be accepted, this account shows the application of Zandaqa to religious argument, a usage which was, apparently, common at the time of the fabrication of the above account.

The raising of controversial questions such as the createdness of the Koran or the rejection of God's attributes were sometimes a reason for attracting a charge of Zandaqa. Presumably the Zandaqa of which the Imam Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/ 767) was accused by his opponents among the Ahl al-Ḥadīth,[71] can be placed in this category. In his refutation of the Jahmiyya, ad-Dārimī (200-280/815-894) frequently calls them Zindīqs, and using the term as equivalent to 'Manichee', he likens the views of the Jahmiyya to those of the Manichees.[72] In the same way Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944), the founder of the Māturīdī school, likens some views of the Mu'tazilites to those of the Zanādiqa (Manichees), and claims that following the Mu'tazilite views would compromise Unity (tawḥid) and end in a sort of Dualism.[73]

In his refutation of the Zanādiqa, Ibn Ḥanbal (164-241/780-855) applies the word to those who look for contradictions between the verses of the Koran. Seven questions raised by the Zanādiqa are answered by

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71. Al-Khaṭib, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, XIII, 382-3.
72. Ar-Radd 'alā z-Zanādiqa wa l-Jahmiyya, 7-19.
73. K. at-Tawḥīd, 86-92, 239 (here he refers to a quotation: 'al-i'tizāl ṭaraf min az-Zandaqa'), 386.

Ibn Ḥanbal,[74] who tries to guard the Book of God from the corruption of the extremists and the interpretation (ta'wīl) of the ignorant as he claims in his introduction.[75] Another muḥaddith, al-Malaṭī (d. 377/987) who also rejects the Zanādiqa's views on contradictory verses in the Koran, uses the term 'Zanādiqa' in the same meaning, i.e. for those "who doubt the Koran and due to their ignorance claim contradiction in it."[76] His commentary on the controversial Koranic verses is partly based on the Tafsīr of Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767).[77] As has already been mentioned al-Malaṭī, quoting Khushaysh, applies the term Zanādiqa to a group of five sects (al-Mānawiyya, al-Mazdakiyya, al-Mu'aṭṭila, al-'Abdakiyya, ar-Rūḥāniyya).[78]

In the Shiite literature, a disputation between ʿAlī and a Zindīq is recorded, in which ʿAlī refutes the criticism raised by the Zindīq about the contradictory Koranic verses.[79] Although the ascription of the account to Alī cannot be accepted, the usage of the word 'Zindīq', which is similar to its employment in the accounts of Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Malaṭī, is remarkable.

However, a connection between this application of 'Zindīq' in Arabic and the early usage of it can be traced. As already mentioned 'zandīk' was first applied

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74. Ar-Radd 'alā z-Zanādiqa wa l-Jahmiyya, 7-19.
75. Ibid., 6.
76. At-Tanbīh wa r-Radd, 54.
77. Ibid., 55.
78. Ibid., 91-95.
79. Aṭ-Ṭabrisī, al-Iḥtijāj, I, 358-384.

to those who interpret a revealed book, as the Manichees did with the Avesta.[80] So the Muslims who did not follow the dogma of the Ahl al-Ḥadīth and argued on religious matters and interpret the Koran were accused of being Zindīqs, and any attempt to go beyond the literal meaning of the Koran and indulge in interpretation (ta'wīl) was considered Zandaqa.[81]

6. INFIDEL, IRRELIGIOUS

The use of Zindīq to mean infidel seems not to be merely a later usage, since some texts from the second century A.H. show it being used synonymously with 'kāfir'. We have already quoted a poem written about the son of Hishām which says:

> "He who gives us horse and halter
> He is neither Zindīq nor kāfir."[82]

In his lampoon against Ibn Abī l-'Awjā', Bashshār uses the word 'zindīq' as synonymous to kāfir.

> "Say to Abd al-Karīm the son of Abī l-'Awjā'!
> You sold Islam, foolishly, for kufr...
> Would that I knew when you were killed
> You died a Muslim or a Zindīq."[83]

Abū Nuwās in an epigram says:

> "Tell Ibrāhīm /ān-Naẓẓām/ an insulting word
> That you have overcome me in Zandaqa and kufr."[84]

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80. See above, pp. 29-30.
81. Cf. al-Maqdisī, al-Bad', III, 22-23.
82. See above, p. 43.
83. Dīwān, IV, 111; Aghānī (D), III, 147.
84. Dīwān (G), 530.

A certain Jamīl b. Mahfūẓ, who was accused of Zandaqa, is satirized by Abū ash-Shamaqmaq (d. c. 200/815):

"They asserted that he was kāfir
Indeed Zandaqa is /obvious/ from
his appearance."[85]

In an epigram, al-Jāḥiẓ is accused of kufr and Zandaqa by al-Jammāz:

"O young man, your soul
Yearns to kufr
In merit, asceticism
And devoutness you have a previous record
Leave kufr aside
O adopted son of the Zanādiqa."[86]

In some cases in the above examples one may argue that the words 'kufr' and 'zandaqa' are not used synonymously, but nevertheless these examples seem to imply that 'Zandaqa' at a certain stage was regarded as almost on the level of kufr. It was, however, used without doubt at a later period as a mere synonym of kufr:

"/'Ubād b. Sulaymān/ went beyond i'tizāl towards kufr and Zandaqa."[87]

7. HYPOCRITE (munāfiq)

It seems that from the second century A.H. there has been a connection between 'Zandaqa' and 'hypocrisy',

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85. Aghānī, XVI, 143.
86. Al-Marzubānī, Mu'jam ash-Shu'arā', 375.
87. Al-Malaṭī, at-Tanbīh wa r-Radd, 39.

since for some jurisprudents, such as Mālik (93-179/712/795) and ash-Shāfi'ī (150-205/767-820) the case of the Zanādiqa and the munāfiqūn is to be treated identically.[88] This meaning is recorded by some later lexicographers as well as theologians.[89]

Although generally the zealously orthodox who do not consider their opponents' faith to be genuine regard them as hypocrites, holding kufr in their hearts and displaying Faith outwardly, nevertheless it seems that the application of 'Zindīq' to mean 'hypocrite' also derives from the primary meaning of 'Manichee'.

It is said that Manichaeism rejects dissimulation (taqiyya),[90] and the genuine Manichees did not deny their faith,[91] but it is conceivable that some isolated groups outside the main stream of Manichaeism may have resorted to hypocrisy to hide their faith under persecution. Al-Jāḥiẓ on one occasion, when describing the Zanādiqa as those who never had a state, says that they have been always either executed or fugitive or hypocrites.[92] Among the so-called Zindīqs

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88. Ibn Ḥajar, Fatḥ al-Bārī, XII, 219-220.
89. Al-Fīrūzābādī, al-Qāmūs, s.v. ZNDQ; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn, 402-403.
90. Al-Jahshiyārī, 153.
91. See below, p. 191.
92. Al-Ḥayawān, IV, 432. In another passage of al-Jāḥiẓ there is a hint of the hypocrisy of the Zanādiqa: "Those who profess Islam and profess it outwardly." (at-Tarbī', 77).

of the Abbasid period there were some who pretended Islam by practising certain Islamic rituals.[93]

8. PROFLIGATE

The most generalized application of the word 'zindīq' is its synonymous usage with profligate and licentious (mājin), which was especially common in the second century A.H. The Zandaqa of many of the poets whose cases we shall discuss below was nothing more than profligacy.

An account quoted by al-Iṣfahānī from Abū Nuwās implies that the equation of Zandaqa with mujūn had currency in his time and was not a later usage. Abū Nuwās says: "I used to imagine that Ḥammād 'Ajrad had been accused of Zandaqa for his mujūn, until I was imprisoned with him and found out that he was a Manichee."[94]

The way in which the word Zindīq which had been primarily applied to the ascetic Manichees, came to be used to denote 'profligate' is a remarkable development which we shall examine in a later chapter. It will suffice to mention here briefly that the Manichees, like most of the heretics, were charged with immorality

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93. See below pp. 222, 271 for the cases of the pilgrimage of Bashshār and Yazdān b. Bādhān.
94. Aghānī, XIII, 74.

by their opponents, although there was certainly a tradition of hedonism among the Dahriyya, who were sometimes confused with the Zanādiqa. In addition, Manichaeism in its intellectual aspects attracted a number of poets, some of whom were libertines.

II. ZANDAQA AND MANICHAEISM

a. Manichaeism : a brief sketch

b. Manichaeism among the Arabs before Islam

c. Manichaeism in the first two centuries of Islam

c.1. Manichaean and anti-Manichaean literature

a. Manichaeism : a brief sketch

In order to explain the following discussion of the Manichees during the Abbasid period it may be useful to give a brief account of the life of Mani and of his religious system. The aim of this brief sketch is not to examine Manichaean questions in depth or to give a detailed study of Mani's biography, which are beyond our scope, since in any case there is a considerable literature about Mani and his religion, to which we give references wherever it seems necessary.[1] Since we shall be examining Manichaeism in the Arab lands, an effort has been made in this preliminary sketch to give the Arabic Manichaean terms as well.

I. The life of Mani

Mani, the founder of Manichaeism, was born in Babylonia in the 14th of April 216 A.D. from a mother of noble (Arsacid) descent, whose name is variously given as Mays, Utākhīm and Mar Maryam.[2] His father,

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1. Among the works on Mani and Manichaeism from which the material in this section has been summarised are: A.A. Bevan, 'Manichaeism', ERE, VIII, 394-402; F.C. Burkitt, The Religion of Mani; G. Widengren, Mani and Manichaeism; L.J.R. Ort, Mani; A.V.W. Jackson, Researches in Manichaeism; an-Nadīm, al-Fihrist; al-Bīrūnī, al-Āthār al-Bāqiya; ash-Shahristānī, al-Milal wa-n-Niḥal; some articles of W.B. Henning and S.H. Taqizadeh.
2. Nadīm, 391. The name Maryam is supported by Chinese fragments, see Ort, 204-205.

Pātek (Ar. Fātiq, Futtaq), was a man of strong religious inclinations. He left his native town, Hamadān, for Ctesiphon-Seleucia (al-Madā'in), and in South Babylonia he joined a baptist sect (al-Mughtasila).[3] This sect which was perhaps related to the Mandaeans made a distinct impression on his son Mani.[4]

Mani at the age of 12 became convinced that he had received a divine revelation from the angel at-Tawm,[5] the messenger of the King of the Paradise of Light, (Malik Jinān an-Nūr). In the year 240 when Mani was 24 the angel appeared again and informed him that he had been appointed as a 'messenger' of God and should preach the new faith.[6] Mani proclaimed his revelation to his father and other members of his family and converted them. After a missionary journey to India, he returned to Persia in the year 242 A.D., the year of the accession of Shāpūr I. He travelled through Pārs, Mesene (Maysān), Babylonia and Media preaching his

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3. Nadīm, 392.
4. See G. Widengren, 25; Ort, 196-203.
5. An-Nadīm claims that the 'tawm' is a Nabataean word meaning 'companion' (al-Qarīn) (Nadīm, 392). In fact, however, it is a rendering of the Syriac word taumā (twin) (Widengren, 26). The term corresponds to the Middle Persian term Narjamīg which occurs in the Turfan fragments (M49), and is formed from the two elements nar (male) and jamīg (twin). Because the latter is derived from an Old Persian form of the word for 'twin' in the female form, in Middle Persian the prefix nar was added. For further discussion on the Twin-Spirit see Ort, 49-50, 77-101.
6. Nadīm, 392.

religion. Mani succeeded in securing the patronage of the king's brother, Pērōz, and through him obtained access to the king himself, who accepted Mani as a member of the court and gave him leave to preach his religion without hindrance throughout the Persian Empire. Later another brother of the king, Mihrshāh, the king of Mesene converted to Manichaeism.[7] Mani sent many missions to different lands, among whose members were Addā and Pateg to Egypt, and Ammō to the north-east of the Empire, i.e. Parthia, Marv and beyond.[8] Over the 30 years of the reigns of Shāpūr I (243-273) and his son Hurmuz I (273-274), Mani enjoyed the protection of the rulers, and his religion appears to have become well established, although the state religion continued to be Zoroastrianism. Soon after the death of Hurmuz, however, Sassanian policy towards Manichaeism changed. Bahrām I (274-277), who succeeded his brother, was greatly under the influence of the Zoroastrian priests. In the year 277 the king ordered Mani's arraignment and after a harsh examination by the king at the royal court at Gundīshāpūr, Mani was thrown into prison and executed 26 days later. His corpse, or according to others, his skin stuffed with straw, was hung up at the gate of Gundīshāpūr. In later times that gate was always known as the gate of

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7. Nadīm, 392; see Ort, 209-224; Widengren, 30-34; Christensen, 195-197 (Per. tr. 219-220).
8. Widengren, 118.

Mani.[9] The execution of Mani took place on the 26th of February 277.[10]

The Manichaean scriptures, with the exception of one (Shāpūrgān) which is in Middle Persian, are all in Syriac, the mother-tongue of Mani.[11] Mani, who was also a painter, illustrated some of his books,[12] and made the Ardhang, which was a set of drawings or pictures illustrating his teachings, especially his cosmology.[13]

II. Manichaeism

Manichaeism is a dualist religion. There are Two Principles (Aṣlayn; Kawnayn) from the beginning to eternity; Light and Darkness. The former is synonymous with the spirit and good and the latter with matter and evil. Another expression of these two principles is that of Two Trees, the Tree of Life or Good Tree

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9. Nadīm, 398; al-Bīrūnī, al-Athār, 208; Widengren, 37-42.
10. This date which was calculated by S.H. Taqizadeh ('The Early Sassanians', BSOAS, XI (1943), 49-51) is now widely accepted. The year 274 which had been suggested by W.B. Henning (Asia Major, III (1952) Part 2, 196-201) was refuted by Taqīzādeh (Manī va dīn-e ū, Appendix).
11. See below, pp. 117-127.
12. The pictures illustrating his writings were intended to complete the instruction of educated people while rendering the message easier to understand for others. The illustration of instructional treatises was a tradition among the Mandaeans (Widengren, 107).
13. See Henning, op. cit., 209-210.

and the Tree of Death.[14] The Two Principles are in essence and in origin separate and opposed, but they became mixed in this world through the action of the Evil Principle. Salvation lies in the release of Goodness (Light) from Evil (Darkness), and its return to its original state of separateness.

Mani recognises Three Ages in the history of beginningless and endless time. They are called The Three Times; the Primordial, Intermediate and Final, or the Past, Present and Future. In the first Age the two principles were separated, in the second Age, which is the present Age, they became mixed, and in the third Age, which is the eschatological Age, they will become separate as they were in the beginning.[15]

In the first Age, before this visible world came to existence, the Two Principles filled all Space. Three-quarters of Space, extending to East, West and North, was the realm of Light, and the southern quarter was the dominion of Darkness. Each realm was self-contained and appropriately organised, and they were uncreated and eternal (qadīm and azalī). The Realm of Light, i.e. the Paradise of Light (Jinān an-Nūr) was ruled by the Father of Greatness, or the King of the Paradise of Light (Malik Jinān an-Nūr), and was

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14. Burkitt, 18.
15. Ibid., 17; Jackson, 8.

inhabited by goddesses of Power and Wisdom.[16]

Opposed to this Realm was the Realm of Darkness, or the Hell of Darkness, which was full of restless infernal powers who were ruled by the King of Darkness or Satan (ash-Shayṭān) who is the Primal Devil (Iblīs al-Qadīm).[17] The Princes of Darkness are called in Arabic Arkūn (Gk. Archon).[17a]

The trouble began when the Ruler of Darkness came up out of his domains to invade the Realm of Light. Because in the Realm of Light there was neither burning fire nor cutting iron nor anything for defence, the Father of Greatness decided to oppose the Powers of Darkness with a kind of Being. So he 'evoked' (Ar. da'ā)[18] the Mother of Life and she evoked the Primal Man (al-Insān al-Qadīm). He evoked his sons, the Five Light Elements: Ether (or, according to Nadīm, Breeze (Nasīm) Air, Light, Water and Fire.[19] After a long struggle Satan prevailed over the Primal Man, but the heavenly powers intervened and rescued him. As a result of this struggle elements of Light became mingled with elements of Darkness, because in the battle the dark elements

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16. Nadīm, 392-393; Bevan, 397 .

The Supreme Ruler of Light was called Zurvān by the Persian-speaking Manichees, Burkitt, 19.

17. Burkitt, 19; Nadīm, 393.

17a. Nadīm, 394; Burkitt, 25.

18. Jackson (p.9) comments that "'evoked' (not generated) is the true Manichaean word for this act, since Mani never employed any term that would imply sexual generation in the transcendental Realm of Light."

19. See Burkitt, 107-111.

absorbed - in point of fact digested - the light elements. Out of this confused mass the heavenly powers created the actual world we inhabit.

It is noteworthy that in Manichaeism not only all animal and vegetable organisms, but even objects which we regard as wholly inanimate, contain a portion of divine light. Hence the distinction which we are accustomed to make between material and spiritual phenomena does not exist in Manichaeism. The visible universe is in fact a vast and complicated machine devised by God for the purpose of enabling the elements of Light to effect their escape.[20]

Finally, after a process of generation and cannibalism between the sons of Darkness and Light, from the marriage of two devils (Archons) two new being were born, Adam and Eve.[21]

In the body of Adam[22] were imprisoned a vast number of particles of light. He was the captive of evil powers, lust, greed, hate, desire etc., so the powers of Light had pity and sent a Saviour. This Saviour, who is sometimes called the Luminous (or the Splendour) Jesus, approached Adam and instructed him on the subject of Paradise and gods, Hell and devils, earth and heaven and the origin of the soul. Eve, in

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20. Bevan, 394b.
21. Burkitt, 26-33; Widengren, 49-58.
22. Adam is also called al-Insān al-Awwal (Nadīm, 394). The difference of this term from al-Insān al-Qadīm should be carefully noted.

whom there was less Light, was seduced by a demon, to whom she bore Cain and Abel. Later, having lain with Adam, she bore Seth.

In the Second Age, the Present Time, God sent prophets to mankind in order to guide the descendants of Adam, as Jesus the Splendour had done with Adam himself. Among the prophets, Buddha, Zoroaster and Jesus[23] are especially important. Like his predecessor, Marcion, Mani rejected Moses and the Old Testament.

"The teaching of Mani as to the duties and ultimate destiny of individuals was in accordance with his theory of the universe as a whole. Since the visible word has as its aim the separation of the light from the darkness practical religion must consist mainly in the furthering of the process. The divine element in man must be freed from its fetter in order that it may return to its heavenly source. With regard to this part of the Manichaean system there are some misconceptions. The divine element in man is not to be identified absolutely with the soul, though the Manichees sometimes used language which admitted of such an interpretation. Yet if we examine the evidence carefully it becomes clear that when they spoke of the soul as divine they meant only that it contained something divine. And just as the soul is not wholly good so the body is not wholly evil."[24]

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23. For more details about Jesús in Manichaeism see Appendix C, pp. 284-289.
24. Bevan, 398b.

Although it was the duty of all Manichees to take part in the liberation of the light from the darkness, their share varied according to their several capacities. The Manichees were divided into two categories: the Electi and the Auditors. The Electi (Mid. Per. Vizīdagān, Ardāvan; Syr. Zaddīqā Ar. al-Mujtabayn, aṣ-Ṣiddīqūn), the Manichaean monks, lived the whole doctrine, travelled and preached. They abstained from meat, wine and all sexual contact and possession of anything except food for one day and garments for one year. They were also forbidden to pluck fruit or vegetables, so that food, which was vegetarian and mostly bread, had to be supplied by the Auditors. They frequently fasted and their time was devoted to praying, recitation of hymns, meditation and preaching. As wanderers they were untiring, travelling on foot and preaching.[25]

The Auditors, or Hearers (Ar. as-Sammā'ūn) were the ordinary Manichees. The moral code for them was less strict. They were allowed to engage in worldly avocations. Marriage was tolerated, but the procreation of children was to be avoided. The Ten Commandments which the Hearers had to keep were avoidance of idolatry, lying, greed, killing, adultery, theft, incantations and magic, holding two opinions, i.e. doubt about religion, avoidance of slackness and

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25. For more detail about the life of the Electi see A. Vööbus, Hist. of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient (Louvain, 1958), I, 109-137.

negligence in works and praying.[26] Specimens of prayers which were recited several times in the day are given by an-Nadīm.[27] Apart from monthly fasts they had an annual fast for a month.[28]

With respect to Mani's doctrine of the future life, mankind was divided into three categories: the Electi, the Hearers and the Wicked. The Electi immediately after death ascend by means of 'the Pillar of Glory' (_'Amūd as-Sabḥ_) to the moon, and thence are conveyed to Paradise. The Hearers enter into a process of transmigration, a method of purification and a means of liberation for souls. By passing through a series of metempsychoses and by reincarnation in the luminous bodies of fruits and finally in the body of an elect, the souls of Hearers are gradually liberated. The third group, the Wicked (_al-Insān al-Athīm_), those who refused to accept Manichaeism, are reincarnated in the souls of beasts and end finally in Hell. For them no salvation is possible.[29]

Mani's teaching is a synthesis of different religions such as Christianity, Iranian religions and Mesopotamian beliefs. Scholars who have examined the various strands in Manichaeism have expressed different opinions. Some emphasize its Christian elements,

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26. Nadīm, 396.
27. _Ibid._, 397
28. _Loc. cit._
29. _Ibid._, 398-399.

others its Iranian characteristics, or the Mesopotamian elements in it.[30] Undoubtedly Mani was deeply influenced by some early Christian sects which existed in Mesopotamia, among which the teachings of the heresiarchs Marcion and Bardaisan are remarkable. Since in this work there are some references to the Marcionites and Bardaisanites it may be useful to give a brief account of their ideas here.

MARCIONISM Marcion, the Christian Gnostic and the founder of the heretical Marcionite sect, was a native of Pontus. After spending some years in Asia Minor and Syria he went to Rome in 140. In Rome he first became a member of the Roman Church but soon after he fell under the influence of the Syrian Gnostic heretic Cerdo and later developed his own system. His propaganda began in 144 and the Church excommunicated him. His death may have taken place c. 160.[31]

Marcion founded not a mere school, but a Church, an organization which despite almost continual persecution lasted for centuries.

Marcion had particular views in the area of theology and Christology. He believed in two Gods, one being the God of Law of the Old Testament and the

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30. See Burkitt, op. cit., 71-104; A.A. Bevan, ERE, VIII, 399-400; G. Widengren, op. cit., 72-73.
31. R.S. Wilson, Marcion, 41-58. H.L. Mansel, The Gnostic Heresies, 203-205. N. McLean, 'Marcion', ERE, VIII, 407b.

other the God revealed in Jesus. The former, who is other than and inferior to the latter is the God who created the World and Man and is called the God of Justice and Law. He is legal-minded, violent, vindictive and tyrannical, while the absolutely perfect God, the God of love, mercy and forgiving is embodied in Jesus.[32]

Marcion did not deny that the prophets had foretold the coming of Christ, but the Christ of the prophet who was to be for the Jews could not be our Christ who was for all men. The former is to be from David's line while the latter is the son of God. Christ is the son of the good God and He is distinct from the Father only in name. He did not have a real body but was a phantasma like the angels that came to Abraham, able to experience and to suffer. Marcion rejects the human birth of Jesus, believing in His sudden appearance without any root in the past, while he regards the life of Christ on earth and his crucifixion as a means of salvation for man, although He suffered only in appearance. Before Christ came, mankind had not known the good God, for this God did not make man, nor was he the object of man's worship. But Christ came to redeem man from their slavery to the Just God.[33]

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32. Wilson, op. cit., 76-95; McLean, op. cit., 408a.
33. Wilson, op. cit., 96-114; cf. E.C. Blackman, Marcion and His Influence, 98-102.

Marcion rejected the Old Testament regarding it as devoid of any revelation of the Christian God. Of the books of the New Testament he accepted only the Third Gospel (Luke) and the Epistle of St. Paul. He regarded the other Evangelists as handing on a false Judaic tradition.[34]

Asceticism is a characteristic of the Marcionite Church. Those who were baptised were not allowed to marry or to eat meat, but apart from a certain group most of them were unbaptised and seem to have delayed their baptism, as was common in the early churches.[35]

F.C. Burkitt believes that Mani was influenced by Marcion in two points: his treatment of the Old Testament and the organisation of his followers into two groups of the Electi and the Hearers.[36]

BARDAISANISM Bar Daiṣān (Bardesanes, Ibn Dayṣān; so called from the river which ran by his native city) was born in 154 and died in 222 in Edessa. His parents were pagan, but he converted to Christianity, and was ordained a priest.[37]

He was at first a disciple of Valentinus, the

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34. McLean, op. cit., 408b.
35. Wilson, op. cit., 168, 172.
36. Burkitt, The Religion of the Manichees, 83-84.
37. MacRae, 'Bardesanes' New Cath. Ency., II, 97.

outstanding Egyptian Gnostic, but afterwards rejected him and refuted many of his views.[38] He also wrote against the ideas of Marcion.[39] His doctrine about Fate is given by Philip, his disciple, in the Book of the Laws of the Countries, in which he reasons against Predestination and proves Free-will.[40] The heretic views of Bar Daiṣān were vigorously refuted by St. Ephraim.[41]

Bar Daiṣān ranks as a heretical figure largely because his astrological and philosophical speculations were mingled with his Christianity.[42] He held that the world is composed of Five Elements, or Primordal Elements, viz. Fire, Wind, Water, Light and Darkness, which are subordinate to the Supreme God. Unlike Marcion, his attitude towards life was not ascetic and he did not reject marriage.[43] He accepted all the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as well as some apocryphal books.[44] He, in common with some other heretics, asserted that Christ, though born of the Virgin Mary, took nothing of her substance

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38. H.L. Mansel, The Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries, 138.
39. Ibid., 139.
40. This book, which is one of the oldest extant Syriac texts, has been edited and translated into English by W. Cureton and published in London, 1855.
41. S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan, ed. and tr. by C.W. Mitchell. F.C. Burkitt's introductory essay in vol. II, pp. cxxii-cxxxi.
42. MacRae, op. cit., 97.
43. Burkitt, op. cit., p. cxxx.
44. Mansel, op. cit., 140.

and merely assumed the appearance of a man and that his suffering likewise was a suffering in appearance only; in consistency with these opinions he also denied the resurrection of the body.[45]

The followers of Bar Daiṣān still existed in the early Abbasid period, and in the Islamic sources there are some acçounts of Bar Daiṣān who is placed among the false prophets (al-mutanabbūn) like Mani and Marcion.[46]

There are certain similarities between the ideas of Bar Daiṣān and Mani in the area of cosmology and in the taking of Light and Darkness as the Primal Elements and looking upon them as the sources of good and evil.[47]

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45. Ibid., 139-140.
46. See A. Abel, 'Dayṣāniyya', EI^2, II, 199.
47. For more detail see F.C. Burkitt, The Religion of the Manichees, 76-79.

b. Manichaeism among the Arabs before Islam

The death of Mani on Monday the twenty second of February 277 A.D. did not witness a decline of Manichaeism, although by edict of Bahrām I (274-277) all Manī's adherents within the Persian Empire were persecuted. After all the pressures from the Sassanian authority and the Zoroastrian clergy, Manichaeism found its way beyond the limits of Iran and as a result of the missionaries' efforts spread towards both East and West, and survived for nearly a millenium despite the severity of the oppression it was to endure at the hands of Zoroastrians, Christians and Muslims.

Before examining the Manichaean community in second century A.H. Iraq, we should first survey the background of Manichaeism among the Arabs before Islam and in the pre-Abbasid period.

As a universal religion, Manichaeism claimed to compound all the current religions and bridge Occident and Orient. Mani, who considered himself 'the final messenger of truth,'[1] emphasized the universal character of his message: "My religion will be in every country and every language, and it will be taught in the far countries."[2] Manichaeism appeared in Ctesiphon and, with a well-organised ministry, it soon spread through the effort of teachers, Electi and travelling missionaries.

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1. L. Ort, 123-124.
2. Ibid., 71 (Text M5794).

It was able to strengthen its hold by exploiting its position when due to certain socio-political factors King Shāpūr I's patronage was extended to it for a period of a few years, within which time Manichaeism established a solid foundation. Within the lifetime of Mani, his religion had taken hold not only in Mesopotamia and Persia but had even reached Palestine, Syria and Egypt.[3]

Manichaeism also seems to have had its adherents among the Arabs of Ḥīra, in southern Iraq. The fact that Ḥīra is located in Babylonia, Mani's homeland, and the existence there of Christianity which had spread in earlier times, along with the other factors such as the religious policy of Ḥīra and zealous efforts of the Manichaean missionaries, all suggest the likelihood of the existence of Manichaeism in the kingdom. The religious structure of the kingdom of Ḥīra is noteworthy: the predominant religion of the people of Ḥīra, despite their links with the Sassanian Empire,[4] was Christianity, and mainly in its Nestorian form.

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3. Widengren, op. cit., 117.
4. Considering Christianity an alien religion, the Persians barely tolerated the Christians, and especially after the recognition of Christianity as the state religion of the Roman Empire by Constantine, the Christians became suspect in terms of divided loyalties. Shāpūr II in a decree against the Christians says: "They live in our land, but share the views of Caesar, our enemy." But in times of peace or alliance with the Byzantines, the kings treated Christians with relative tolerance. With the rise of theological controversies and the schism of the Nestorians, the Persian authorities encouraged them in their opposition to Byzantium. Henceforth, Nestorianism became dominant among the

After the schism of Nestorianism and the establishment of the Nisibis theological school by Bar Ṣaumā (d. 492) and recognition of Nestorianism by the Sassanians,[5] the Church was forbidden to convert any Zoroastrian.[6] Thus missionaries' efforts were focussed on the non-Zoroastrians, such as the pagan Arabs of Mesopotamia, Babylonia and southward to Arabia. This is why, with the rise of Islam, we find the Arabs of southern Iraq almost entirely Nestorian Christian.[7] But the Lakhmid rulers followed a neutral religious policy, even after the spread of Christianity among the people, both settled and nomadic.[8] In view of this neutrality, Ḥīra became a suitable area for the missionaries of any religion and sect,[9] and one should therefore accept the

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Christians under Persian rule and among the Christian Arabs of Ḥīra. (Christensen, 282-338; O'Leary, 131-137; A. Atiya, A History of Eastern Christianity, pp. 252-256; J.G. Davies, The Early Christian Church, 238-239; J.S. Trimingham, Christianity Among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times, 159-163).

5. During the reign of Khusraw (Chosroes) Anūshirwān (531-577) the Jacobites were allowed to establish a council and elect their own Catholicos. Cf. Christensen, 448; Atiya, 183-184; Trimingham, 170.

6. O'Leary, 136. Mār Abā, The Catholicos of the see of Seleucia-Ctesphon (540-552), was imprisoned after revelation that he had been originally a Mazdaean converted to Christianity (Trimingham, 162), though some political factors should be considered as well (cf. Christensen, 448).

7. O'Leary, 138; Trimingham, 162-163.

8. Trimingham, 128.

9. Religious strife in the Greek empire drove monophysite exiles to Ḥīra, in 518 A.D. they had a monastery, and a bishop is recorded in 551. A.S. Tritton, 'Naṣārā', EI[1], III, 848b.

possibility of the presence of Manichaeism in Ḥīra, considering its well-organised nature and the zeal of its missionaries.

'Amr b. 'Adī, who is considered the first king of the Lakhmid dynasty of Ḥīra (ruled approximately 270-300),[10] declared himself a defender of the Manichees. According to the Coptic Manichaean codex, "The Book of History", when King Narses (293-302) persecuted the Manichees, they sought a certain Arab leader by the name of 'Amro to intercede with the Persian king. Innaios, the second successor of Mani (after Sisinnios), negotiated the matter with the king, after having been introduced by a letter from this certain 'Amro, "an important personage in the Persian Empire."[11] This Arab leader, 'Amro, as

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10. In the list of the Lakhmid kings and their dates there is a great discrepancy in the Arabic sources; see Gustav Rothstein, Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Hīra, Berlin, 1899, pp. 50 seq.

11. Another Manichaean book, The Homilies, offers a completely different version of Innaios' visit to the Sassanian court and the abandonment of the Manichaean persecution by the king. According to The Homilies, the tolerance towards the Manichees began to be shown in the reign of Bahrām II (276-293) when in 290 he was cured of a serious illness by Innaios and thereupon granted security to the Manichees. As Bahrām II had been a severe persecutor of the Manichees, having executed Mani's successor Sisinnios, this sudden change in policy must have a political basis rather than being merely the result of a miraculous cure. As W. Seston points out, the change in Bahrām's policy was presumably a result of his expansionist expeditions towards Eastern and North-Eastern Iran, which had a large Manichee population with whom he would have had to deal.
W. Seston, "Le roi Sassanide Narses, les Arabes et le Manicheisme", Melanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussud, (Paris, 1939), I, 228-229.

H.H. Schaeder demonstrated, is none other than 'Amr ibn 'Adī, the Lakhmid king who had owed allegiance to Narses since 233 A.D.[12]

The intercession of 'Amr coincided with Diocletian's severe edict against the Manichees. In the Roman Empire the Manichees had always been persecuted, for both religious and nationalistic[13] reasons, but in the year 297 a revolt in Egypt took place against Rome, of which the local Manichees, taking advantage of bad economic conditions, were probably the instigators. The insurrection in Egypt and the intercession of 'Amr have been connected by W. Seston[14] who believed that the participation of the Manichees in the Egyptian revolt "means a reconciliation must have occurred between Narses and their co-religionists in the Sassanian realm. Was 'Amr the mediator and its price the Manichees' seditious propaganda in Egypt?"[15] This is a question

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12. Gnomon, IX (1933), 344; W. Seston, op. cit., 229-230.
13. Manichaeism was regarded in the West as a religion belonging to the Persians, the enemy of Rome (Widengren, 118).
14. In the above-mentioned article and also in "De l'authenticite et de la date de l'edit de Diocletien contre les Manicheens", Melanges de Philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes offerts à Alfred Ernout, (Paris, 1940) 345-354.
15. It is worth noting here that at the beginning of the fourth century Manichaeism was preached in a part of Egypt (the Thebaid, a district to the south of Asyūṭ) for the first time by a "Saracenus", an Arab, called Scythianos who was born on the banks of the Tigris in Seleucia. The Saracen, Scythianos, according to Manichaean sources, had left his home to seek the truth in a country situated on the borders of Palestine and Arabia, where he embraced the Manichaean doctrine, and thereafter travelled to Egypt as a merchant. W. Seston, Melanges Syriens offerts à M.R. Dussud, I, 233.

which has yet to be answered,[16] but the important point here is 'Amr's defence of the Manichees, which raises the question of whether he himself was a Manichee. Despite the fact that the majority of the people of Ḥīra were Christians, the Lakhmids, generally, did not commit themselves to a Christian allegiance. It is said that they considered Christianity to be too closely associated with the Romans and were respectful of the anti-Christian bias of the Persian authorities,[17] but this could hardly be acceptable in the light of the fact that certain members of the House of Lakhm converted to Christianity,[18] and subsequently actively encouraged this religion. Apart from these exceptional cases, the Lakhmids generally were pagan, and in general tolerant in matters of religion. Nu'mān III (500-503), for example, attended prayers on Sundays, but was not baptized a Christian,[19] while Mundhir III was a devotee of al-'Uzzā,[20] like his predecessors.

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16. Quoting W. Seston, G. Widengren noted that "the problem posed by the fact of Narses being a persecutor of the Manichees seems either not to have been taken seriously or not to have been realized." (Mani and Manichaeism, 199; 155).
17. Trimingham, 189.
18. Al-Ḥasan son of Nu'mān I, Nu'mān IV, Mā' as-Samā' the wife of Nu'mān III, and Hind the wife of Mundhir III were Christian.
19. Al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rikh, II, 530.
20. But at the same time he encouraged the Nestorians, and even allowed Monophysite missionaries to spread their propaganda through the state, and some members of his family were Christian. Cf. Trimingham, 196.

Simon, bishop of Bēth Arshām, who was a Monophysite, described Mundhir as a strong pagan.[21] Mundhir IV also maintained allegiance to the goddesses Allāt and al-ʿUzzā.[22] Thus the defence of the Manichees by ʿAmr b. ʿAdī does not necessarily indicate his adherence to Manichaeism, though it is not inconceivable. In any case, in his intercession, ʿAmr would have had to take account of the Manichaean community in Ḥīra.[23]

Here it is worth examining the case of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr al-Kindī, ruler of Ḥīra for a time, who is said to have converted to Mazdakism. During Qubādh's reign (488-531) when Mazdak revolted, Ḥīra was ruled by Mundhir III, known as Mundhir b. Mā' as-Samā', one of the most powerful figures among the Lakhmids, whose series of victorious struggles against the Byzantines under Justinian I are well known.[24] Qubādh, who had already converted to Mazdakism, according to some sources asked Mundhir to follow in his path, but he refused. Al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr, the King of Kinda, who had answered the appeal and converted to Mazdakism, received the support of Qubādh and the Persian authorities and subsequently overwhelmed Mundhir and acquired the Kingdom of Ḥīra until the end of Qubādh's reign. The story of al-Ḥārith's conversion to Mazdakism and the

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21. Trimingham, 194.
22. Ibid., 198; Aghānī (B) II, 102-3.
23. Cf. W. Seston, op. cit., 230.
24. Rothstein, 79-81; Jawād Alī, IV, 52-54.

religious background to the fall of Mundhir is narrated in some Arabic sources.[25]

Whether the denial or acceptance of Mazdakism by Mundhir, whose loyal services to the Sassanids are undeniable, was the basic cause of his fall, or whether other factors were to play a role, is questionable. Noting certain contradictions in chronology,[26] Dr. Jawād Alī postulates that there were no religious factors behind the fall of Mundhir and further suggests that the only reason for Qubādh to help al-Ḥārith against Mundhir was fear of the latter's growing power or a conscious decision to adopt a neutral stance in respect of the conflict. Al-Ḥārith's conversion to Mazdakism, he maintains, was fabricated by some hostile historians in order to defame him.[27]

Although al-Ḥārith's conversion to Mazdakism cannot easily be accepted, the religious factor is nevertheless undeniable. In fact, the question of Mundhir, as

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25. Aghānī (B), VIII, 63-64. Al-Maqdisi, al-Bad' wa-t-Ta'rīkh, III, 199. Ḥamza, 140. Ibn al-Athīr, I, 375. Ibn Sa'īd, 98. Ibn Khaldūn, al-'Ibar, II, 273-274. The tradition in Ḥamza, Ibn Sa'īd and Ibn Khaldūn, who quoted from the Ibn Sa'īd, refers to al-Ḥārith al-Maqṣūr which is not accurate, for 'al-Maqṣūr' is a title of his father, Ḥujr b. 'Amr; cf. Olinder, 97, 111.
26. Qubādh's reign was from 488 to 531, with a short interregnum when his brother Zāmasp reigned (until 499). Mundhir, according to Greek and Syriac sources, some of them contemporary, had participated in the wars against the Byzantines and the Arabs of Syria in 518, 519, 528 and 531. Cf. A. Christensen, Le règne du roi Kawādh, 90-127; Per. tr., 94-128.
27. Ta'rīkh al-Arab Qabl al-Islām, IV, 66-72.

Christensen pointed out, must have some connection with the Mazdakaean movement, for it was after the massacre of the Mazdakites (528) that Mundhir defeated al-Ḥārith and regained his throne.[28] G. Olinder has rightly shown that al-Ḥārith, who had already gained power in Arabia and was being backed by the Bakr, probably ruled over some part of Iraq during the reign of Qubādh and naturally entered into a dispute with Mundhir. Al-Ḥārith tried to establish friendly relations with Qubādh, not only to further his expansionist desires and gain support in his rivalry with Mundhir, but because he was also encouraged by the Bakr and Taghlib who wanted to maintain good relations with Persia at the period of their migration towards the North. On the other hand, Mundhir, being completely against Qubādh's religious policy and Mazdakism, probably entered into negotiations with the Romans. In any case, Mundhir, who had lost Persian support, was defeated by al-Ḥārith and remained in exile from Ḥīra until the massacre of the Mazdakites in 528 when, with the support of Anūshirwān, the son of Qubādh, he regained the throne.[29] Al-Ḥārith, who ruled apparently for a short period (525-528) in Ḥīra,[30] according to the Arabic sources converted to Mazdakism

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28. A. Christensen, op. cit., 126 (Per. tr., 127); idem, L'Iran sous les sassanides, 361 (Per. tr. 385).
29. Olinder, 112-115.
30. Ibid., 114.

and became a 'Zindīq'.[31] Since we do not have any further evidence,[32] the rejection or acceptance of this tradition is difficult, but it is not inconceivable that during that time some of the Arabs, through the efforts of Manichaean and Mazdakaean missionaries, became familiar with 'Zandaqa'.

Concerning the penetration of Manichaeism within Arabia, we have little evidence, apart from the passage cited by some Muslim historians in which we are informed of the existence of Zandaqa among the Quraysh. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb al-Baghdādī (d. 246/859), the earliest writer to note its existence in any detail, in a chapter entitled 'Zindīqs of the Quraysh' in two separate works, listed the names of eight men and offered some information as to the events surrounding their deaths. Their names as recorded by him are: (1) Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb, (2) 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayṭ, (3) Ubayy b. Khalaf,

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31. See above, n. 25. Al-Ya'qūbī (Ta'rīkh, I, 227) who mentioned Ḥujr b. 'Amr al-Kindī as an Arab who became a Zindīq (tazandaqa) in the pre-Islamic period, probably confused his name with that of his descendant, al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr b. Ḥujr b. 'Amr.

32. There is a tradition narrated by Ṭabarī which indicates that al-Ḥārith did not believe in Mazdakism and suggests that the motive for his alliance with Qubādh was mere expansionist ambition. In a letter to Tubba' pointing out Qubādh's weakness because of his belief in Mazdakism, he says: "I wish to have those Persian territories and I will gather an army and march forward, because the king /i.e. Qubādh/ does not eat meat and does not shed blood because he is a Zindīq" (Ṭabarī, I, ii, 889). Al-Ḥārith's reference to Zandaqa does not suggest that he subscribed to those beliefs, but rather that he was willing to take advantage of these weaknesses.

(4) an-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith, (5) Nubayh b. al-Ḥajjāj, (6) Munabbih b. al-Hajjāj, (7) al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il and (8) al-Walīd b. Mughīra, after which he tells us: "They learnt Zandaqa from the Christians (Naṣārā) of Ḥīra."[33] Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) in a chapter on the religion of the pre-Islamic Arabs writes: "There was Christianity among the Rabī'a, Ghassān and some of the Quḍā'a; Judaism among the Ḥimyar, Banū Kināna, Banū l-Ḥārith b. Ka'b and Kinda; Zoroastrianism (majusiyya) among the Tamīm, among whom could be counted [1] Zurāra b. 'Adas at-Tamīmī, [2] his son Ḥājib b. Zurāra who married his own daughter and then repented, [3] al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis and [4] Abū Sūd, grandfather of Wukay' b. Ḥassān. There was also Zandaqa among the Quraysh who had adopted it from Ḥīra."[34]

This passage is quoted by Ibn Rusta (d. after 290/902)[35] Ibn Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī (d. 573/1178)[36] and Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī (610-673/1213-1274).[37] On the same subject al-Ya'qūbī (d. 284/899) after discussing the paganism of the Arabs says: "Then some of the Arabs converted to Judaism and some to Christianity. Some of them became Zindīq (tazandaqa) and believed in Dualism." Then after counting those tribes who converted to Judaism and Christianity, he continued: "And Ḥujr b. 'Amr al-Kindī

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33. Al-Munammaq, I, 487-488; al-Muḥabbar, 161.
34. Al-Ma'ārif, 266.
35. Al-A'lāq an-Nafīsa, 217.
36. Al-Ḥūr al-'Ayn, 136.
37. Nashwat at-Ṭarab, 2-3.

converted to Zandaqa."[38] Also, on the subject of religions of pre-Islamic Arabs, al-Maqdisī (4th/10th cent.) writes:

> "There was among them all kinds of creeds (milla) and religions (dīn): Zandaqa and Ta'ṭīl (the denial of Divine Attributes) among the Quraysh, Mazdakism and Zoroastrianism among the Tamīm, Judaism and Christianity among the Ghassān, and polytheism and idolatry (ash-shirk wa 'Ibādat al-awthān) among the others."[39]

What is meant by this vague term 'Zandaqa' in the above contexts is questionable. Considering that here it is the religions of the pre-Islamic Arabs which are being discussed, it would firstly indicate the individuality of Zandaqa as a specific religion rather than a general term for heresy. Secondly, the distinction drawn between Zandaqa and Majūsiyya (Zoroastrianism) by Ibn Qutayba and al-Maqdisī makes it difficult to accept the hypothesis of Dr. Jawād 'Alī who suggests that Zandaqa here indicates Zoroastrianism.[40]

After this general observation, let us examine the texts, beginning with Ibn Ḥabīb's which is the earliest and most detailed.

After discussing the Scoffers at the Prophet (al-Mustahzi'ūn), Ibn Ḥabīb opens a new chapter entitled

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38. Ta'rīkh al-Ya'qūbī, I, 226-227.
39. Al-Bad' wa-t-Ta'rīkh, IV, 31.
40. Ta'rīkh al-'Arab qabl al-Islām, V, 364.

'The Zindiqs of the Quraysh' (Zanādiqat Quraysh) and lists eight persons some of whom are counted among other groups such as Scoffers and the Malevolent. We cannot accept that the term is used merely to denote a person or group opposed to the Prophet, that is, as a term to describe the act of resisting the mission of the Prophet. Among the numerous opponents to Muḥammad, only the above-mentioned names are classified as Zindīqs. Zandaqa must, therefore, have a more particular connotation than merely opposition to the Prophet's message.

About this group, their careers and creeds, we have little information in the biographies of the Prophet. In general, they were all nobles and magnates of the Quraysh, and all profoundly hostile to Muḥammad. We can find names from this group among those who scoffed at[41] and harmed[42] the Prophet or argued against him.[43] All of them continued their hostility towards the Prophet except for Abū Sufyān (567-652) who by conversion to Islam was able to retain his social position[44] in Islamic times and was to see in his

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41. Al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra and al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il (Ibn Isḥāq, 254).
42. 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayṭ, Abū Sufyān, Ubayy b. Khalaf and al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il (Ibn Isḥāq, 125-126, 192).
43. Abū Sufyān, an-Naḍr, al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, al-'Āṣ, Nubayh and Munabbih (Ibn Isḥāq, 178, 182-183).
44. Abū Sufyān, who converted to Islam in the year 81 after the conquest of Mecca by the Muslims, was appointed governor of Najrān by Abū Bakr (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Istī'āb, I, 319-320; Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Munammaq; W.M. Watt, EI^2, I, 151).

progeny the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty. The extent of the information that we have about this group is that most of them were killed early on in the battles against the Muslims,[45] but in one case we have some considerable information, that of an-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith which should be mentioned in a little more detail.

An-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada of the Banū 'Abd ad-Dār branch of the Quraysh was one of the most prominent figures of the tribe and an enemy of the Prophet who was eventually killed at the Battle of Badr (2/624).[46] He was a merchant and travelled to Ḥīra,[47] where he bought Persian books (Kutub al-A'ājim).[48] Influenced by Persian culture, he not only learnt to play the lute ('Ūd), but introduced it to the Arabs.[49] He is credited with a good knowledge of Iranian mythology and legends

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45. 'Uqba, an-Naḍr, Nubayh and Munabbih were killed at the Battle of Badr 2/624 (Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Muḥabbar, 161; idem, al-Munammaq, I, 487-488; Az-Zubayrī, Nasab Quraysh, 138, 255, 403, 404). Ubayy b. Khalaf was killed at Uḥud (3/625) by the Prophet himself (Ibn Isḥāq, 488).
46. Al-Wāqidī, al-Maghāzī, I, 106, 149. Aghānī (B), I, 10-11.
47. At-Ṭabarī in his commentary on viii:31 (Jāmi' al-Bayān, XIII, 503) where he says "an-Naḍr used to travel to Persia and had contact with the Christians (al-'Ibād)." by Persia, he, apparently, meant Ḥīra, for it was the Christians of Ḥīra who were called 'Ibād. (Cf. J. 'Alī, op. cit., IV, 15-16; Trimingham, 156).
48. See the commentary on xxxi:6 in an-Nīsāburī, at-Tafsīr, XXI, 52; al-Qurṭubī, al-Jāmi' li-Aḥkām al-Qur'ān, XIV, 52.
49. Murūj, IV, 134. Some sources claimed that al-Ḥārith b. Kalada was the first Arab to play the lute (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, I, 110).

which he narrated to the Quraysh. Intending to harm the Prophet and to divert attention from him, he used to narrate the legends of Rustam and Isfandiyār and suchlike tales to the crowd which had gathered around Muḥammad.[50] Two verses of the Koran (VIII, 31; XXXI, 6), according to the commentators, are revealed about him.[51]

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a said that an-Naḍr was the son of al-Ḥārith b. Kalada, the famous physician who had been to Persia as well, and he counted an-Naḍr among the Arab physicians.[52] As this point is not mentioned in the early sources, it must be the result of confusion resulting from similar names.[53] L. Cheikho, who had claimed that al-Ḥārith b. Kalada, the physician, was a Christian, following Ibn Abī Usaybi'a's mistake about the relationship between an-Naḍr and al-Ḥārith, concluded that an-Naḍr was also a Christian.[54] This claim cannot be proved

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50. Ibn Isḥāq, 189; Ibn Hishām, 235.
51. Ṭabarī, Tafsir, XIII, 503-504; an-Nīsābūrī, op. cit., XXI, 52; al-Qurṭubī, XIV, 52.
52. 'Uyūn al-Anbā', I, 113.
53. The genealogy of al-Ḥārith the physician is: al-Ḥārith b. Kalada b. 'Amr b. 'Ilāj ath-Thaqafī (Ibn Sa'd, V, 371-372), but the genealogy of al-Ḥārith, the father of an-Naḍr is: al-Ḥārith b. 'Alqama b. Kalada b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd ad-Dār (az-Zubayrī, Nasab Quraysh, 255. Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat Ansāb al-'Arab, 117; in many sources ''Alqama' is omitted from the chain (see al-Wāqidī, al-Maghāzī, I, 37, 149. Ibn Sa'd, V, 352; Ibn Hishām, 235), so that this name and the name of the father became similar. Dr. Jawād Alī points out that al-Ḥārith the physician had only one son named Azda (Ta'rīkh al-'Arab qabl al-Islām, VIII, 384).
54. Shu'arā' an-Naṣrāniyya, II, 4-6.

because not only was an-Naḍr not the son of al-Ḥārith the physician, but al-Ḥārith himself was not a Christian.[55] An-Naḍr had travelled to Ḥīra, which, as we have seen, like other parts of Babylonia and Mesopotamia, was the centre of various religions and sects and attracted many who sought spiritual inspiration.[56] Whatever the purpose for an-Naḍr's journey to Ḥīra,[57] he, learning about mythology and music, must have acquired some familiarity with the religions of the area, one of which was Manichaeism. Therefore it could be assumed that by Zandaqa, Ibn Ḥabīb meant Manichaeism. If Zandaqa here means Manichaeism, one may ask how an-Naḍr would have learned it from the Christians[58] who were the committed enemies of the Manichees? The answer can be found in the fact that some Manichees were accustomed to calling themselves 'Christian'. This is not remarkable in view of the fact that Manichaeism was considered a Christian heresy,

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55. None of our early sources hint at al-Ḥārith being a Christian. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a who usually mentions the religion of the physicians of pre-Islamic time (cf. the cases of Ibn Aththāl and Abū l-Ḥikam in the same source: I, 116, 119) is silent about him. Some biographies claim he converted to Islam (see J. 'Alī, Ta'rīkh al-'Arab qabl al-Islām, VIII, 383), but this can hardly be accepted. He might have remained pagan during Islam as well. Al-Qiftī counted him among the 'Ahl al-Kufr' (Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā', 162), a term which cannot be applied to the Christians.

56. Cf. the case of Zayd b. 'Āmir b. Nawfal who travelled to Syria and Mesopotamia seeking the Truth: Aghānī, III, 16-17. Ibn Sa'd, Ii, 106.

57. Mas'ūdī says he had been sent as envoy to Khosraw (wāfid^{an} 'alā Kisrā) (Murūj, IV, 134), but the other sources already cited, say he was a merchant.

58. Only Ibn Ḥabīb mentions 'the Christians of Ḥīra', Ibn Qutayba and others write that they took Zandaqa from Ḥīra.

and its founder claims to be the Apostle of Jesus Christ.[59] We know that Mark, the Deacon of Gaza, recorded that three Manichees who had visited Gaza in about the year 400, claimed to be Christians.[60]

Another indication of the existence of Manichaeism in pre-Islamic Arabia, is given by al-Ya'qūbī (d. 284/899) and has already been quoted. Discussing the religions of the pre-Islamic Arabs, he notes that some of them converted to Judaism, some to Christianity and some became Zindīq (tazandaqa) believing in Dualism, among whom was a certain Ḥujr b. 'Amr al-Kindī.[61] The significance of this passage is the description of Zandaqa as Dualism, which is, at least, less vague than the previous passages, although the specific claim about Ḥujr b. 'Amr cannot be accepted. The name of Ḥujr b. 'Amr al-Kindī[62] is probably mixed and confused with the name of his successor, al-Ḥārith, whose personality is frequently confused in mythology and history.[63] Al-Ḥārith,

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59. Cf. below, pp.285-286.
60. The biography of St. Porphyry (c. 352-420), the bishop of Gaza, offers a valuable picture of the conflict between Christianity, Manichaeism and the residual paganism of his time; Mark the Deacon says: "They /viz. the Manichees/ themselves in appearance are called Christians" (The Life of Porphyry. Tr. G.F. Hill, Oxford, 1913, 95-96).
61. Ta'rīkh al-Ya'qūbī, I, 226-227.
62. Ḥujr b. 'Amr al-Kindī, known as Ākil al-Murār, was the first of the Kings of Kinda who established a kingdom in Central Arabia. The exact date of his reign is unknown to us, but he ruled in the third quarter of the fifth century (G. Olinder, The Kings of Kinda, 84; Jawād 'Alī, Ta'rikh al-'Arab qabl al-Islām, III, 315-326).
63. Olinder, 74-96.

as already discussed, was accused of being a Zindīq because of his conversion to Mazdakism (a form of Zandaqa) during King Qubādh's reign. The term of Zandaqa which is identified by 'Dualism' is less general and could indicate Manichaeism, although it could equally apply to the other dualistic religions and sects.[64]

The statement given by al-Maqdisī, which says, "There was Zandaqa and Ta'ṭīl among the Quraysh and Mazdakism and Zoroastrianism among the Tamīm," is even less general since it excludes Mazdakism and Zoroastrianism from the term Zandaqa. Thus the term Zandaqa could easily be taken to mean Manichaeism, but its use as a synonym of Ta'ṭīl makes us hesitate to accept this hypothesis. The terms Zandaqa and Ta'ṭīl are used synonymously in another place in his work,[65] so we may presume that al-Maqdisī in the above context has used these two words to indicate one concept. Considering the usage of the term Zandaqa in various parts of his work,[66] al-Maqdisī

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64. Cf. above p. 52.
65. Discussing the beliefs of al-Mu'aṭṭila, he says: "And they have other names such as al-Malāḥida, ad-Dahriyya, az-Zanādiqa and al-Muhmila" (al-Bad' wa-t-Ta'rīkh, IV, 2).
66. Al-Maqdisī has used the epithet 'Zindīq' for Mani (al-Bad', III, 157) and noted that the appearance of Mani was the first appearance of 'Zandaqa'. However, in a separate chapter on Manichaeism (ibid, IV, 24-25) he makes no mention of 'Zandaqa'. In the story of Noah, he condemned those people who did not interpret the Koran according to the apparent meaning (ẓāhir) as Zindīqs, (ibid, III, 23). The same people (Mu'awwilūn, Bāṭiniyya) were accused of Zandaqa by him in the story of Mani where he says Zandaqa appeared through Mani, but in the course of time it has taken many names and nowadays it has appeared in the guise of the 'Ilm al-Bāṭin and al-Bāṭiniyya (ibid, III, 157).

seems to use the term as an epithet not merely for Manichaeism but for other discredited beliefs as well. Therefore, the term Zandaqa, in the above passage, could apply to Manichaeism, and indeed probably does, but we must nevertheless postulate this with some reservation.

Apart from these texts, there are some corroborating facts which may indicate the existence of Manichaeism in Mecca. The Persian and Byzantine Empire were rivals for the control of the regions of Arabia, a struggle in which the Lakhmids and Ghassānids had taken an active part. It is assumed that the waning of the influence of Tamīm and the rise of the influence of Ghaṭafān were caused by the action of Persian policy conducted through the medium of the Lakhmids in order to obtain a foothold in the region.[67] According to some traditions, in the middle of the sixth century the Marzubān al-Bādiya appointed an ʻāmil for al-Madīna.[68] Another tradition recorded by Ibn Saʻīd al-Maghribī (610-673/1213-1274) tells us about the attempt of Persia to gain power over Mecca. According to this report, when Qubādh embraced Mazdakism and deposed the Lakhmid al-Mundhir, who had refused to convert to it, al-Ḥārith al-Kindī followed

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67. M.J. Kister, 'al-Hira, some notes on its relation with Arabia': Arabica, XV (1968), 144.
68. The tradition is recorded by Ibn Khurdādbih (al-Masālik wa l-Mamālik, Leiden, 1889, p. 128) and Yāqūt (al-Buldān, V, 460) and has been discussed and evaluated by the modern scholars from various points of view, some of which confirm it while some have doubt as to its soundness. See M.J. Kister, op. cit., 145-147.

Qubādh and embraced Mazdakism. Then Qubādh ordered al-Ḥārith to impose this faith on the Arabs of Najd and Tihāma. When these tidings reached Mecca some people embraced the faith of Mazdak (fa-minhum man tazandaqa), and when Islam appeared there was a group in Mecca who were noted as being former Mazdakites. There were however people who refrained from embracing this faith, among whom was 'Abd Manāf, who gathered his people and stated that he would not abandon the religion of Ismā'īl and Ibrāhīm and follow a religion imposed by the sword. When al-Ḥārith heard of this refusal he reported it to Qubādh, and was ordered to rush upon Mecca to destroy the Ka'ba, to kill 'Abd Manāf and to abolish the leadership of the Banū Quṣayy.[69]

These traditions, which should be accepted with caution,[70] do indicate, however, the relations between Ḥīra and Ḥijāz,[71] by means of which some Meccans may have acquired a familiarity with Zandaqa (Manichaeism and Mazdakism) either by force, as Ibn Sa'īd's tradition claims, or for other motives. Along with the political

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69. Nashwat at-Ṭarab, Ms. Tübingen, f. 96. This part of Nashwat at-Ṭarab has not been published, and Manfred Kropp's study on Ibn Sa'īd, which contains an edited text of 71 folios (17-88 ff) of the Ms., does not include the above part, and accordingly we have quoted Kister who used the Ms. of Nashwat at-Ṭarab and cited fragments of it in his article, op. cit.

70. As Kister points out in the tradition there is a heavy stress on the behaviour of 'Abd Manāf who remained faithful to the religion of Isma'īl, so it may be spurious.

71. For further information see the above-mentioned scholarly article by Kister.

relation between Ḥīra and Mecca, the commercial links should also be mentioned. The Meccan merchants, among whom we have an-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith, used to travel to Ḥīra. Through these commercial journeys, a cultural exchange was fostered and some religious ideas were spread, as in the case of Scythianos, the Arab merchant who preached Manichaeism in Egypt.[72] Such people as an-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith, who became familiar with non-Arab mythology and history and narrated them to the Arabs, were not particularly rare.[73]

A consideration of the political, commercial and cultural relations between Ḥīra and Mecca, along with some traditions about the spread of Mazdakism in Arabia during the reign of Qubādh, forces us to accept the possible existence of Manichaeism and Mazdakism, and to suppose that the term Zandaqa in the above-mentioned texts concerning pre-Islamic religions may indicate Manichaeism and its variant form, Mazdakism. However, there is another problem which prevents us from accepting this hypothesis. In the Koran and Ḥadīth, there is no hint of the Manichees and their faith. Should we therefore say that at the rise of Islam there was no trace of Manichaeism in Mecca? Or if indeed it existed, that it was represented by a few obscure people whose beliefs were unknown to the Prophet so that consequently

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72. See above, p. 83.
73. Al-Hamdānī claims that the information given to us about the non-Arabs was narrated by the Arabs who travelled to the other lands for business. Ibn Sa'īd, Nashwat at-Ṭarab, 6.

no controversy arose?

One may claim that the term Zandaqa in the context of pre-Islamic religions, implies the ideas of the Dahrīs, Atheists and Naturalists who denied spiritual values.[74] But this hypothesis can hardly be accepted, because, firstly, as has already been mentioned, the Muslim writers have distinguished between two terms Zandaqa and Dahriyya.[75] Secondly, if Zandaqa indicates Dahriyya, why should it be taken from Ḥīra, while it already had its own roots among the Arabs?

In conclusion, we must accept, on consideration of the evidence, that Manichaeism probably existed in Arabia and Mecca, if only to a limited extent. But it can hardly be proved that the people mentioned in the list of Ibn Ḥabīb were Manichaeans; if they had been, we would expect that their arguments with the Prophet, some fragments of which have been recorded, would have been from the Manichaean point of view or would reflect some Manichaean ideas, and we would find in the Koran or the Ḥadīth some trace of Manichaean arguments. In their case Zandaqa does not mean a specific ritual and liturgy, a religion, or even an organized system of thought, but merely scepticism and an agnostic attitude to religion.

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74. Cf. Goldziher, EI^2, II, 95, 97. W.M. Watt, EI^2, II, 94-95.
75. See above, p. 54. Al-Maqdisī's passage, in which Zanādiqa, Dahriyya, Malāḥida and Mu'attila are synonymous (al-Bad', IV, 2) cannot be taken into account, because as has already been mentioned, al-Maqdisī used the term Zandaqa in a broad sense (cf. above, p. 54).

This group of Quraysh who had communicated with Ḥīra, a centre of various creeds and doctrines among which Christianity was dominant, had become familiar with religious doctrines and were able to argue their merits.[76] Hence, when the Prophet invited them to Islam, they did not accept, but chose to argue, though not from a specific religious standpoint, such as the Jewish or the Christian or the Manichaean, but rather on a rational and materialistic basis.

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76. Again the case of an-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith is to be considered. According to an account given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (_'Uyūn al-Anbā'_, I, 113) an-Naḍr had a broad knowledge of philosophy and medicine. Ibn Isḥāq called him "one of the Satans of the Quraysh" (_min Shayāṭīn Quraysh_), (_Sīra_, 182; cf. Ibn Hishām, 191) which implies that he was intelligent and argumentative.

c. Manichaeism in the first two centuries of Islam

In the seventh century, with the rise of Islam and its rapid conquests, the Persian Empire as well as a large part of the territories ruled by the Byzantines were invaded by the Arabs and fell under Islamic rule. Within the boundaries of this new empire, which extended from Transoxiana to North Africa, there were a few scattered Manichaean communities who had survived the successive severe persecutions carried out by both the Zoroastrian Persians and the Christian Byzantines. Apart from Transoxiana, where a large number of Manichees took refuge after the persecution by the Sassanids, there were also in the ex-Roman Eastern provinces of Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt Manichees[1] who survived and witnessed the rise of Islam.

The Manichees who lived in the lands conquered by the Muslims, enjoyed a large degree of prosperity and toleration. This was not because they, as Manichees, were tolerated by the Muslims; on the contrary the Manichees had no legal claim to toleration, for the Koran does not mention them among the People of the Book

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1. In the fourth century St. Ephraim (d. 373 A.D.) complained that no country was more infected with Manichaeism than Mesopotamia in his day. Some evidence indicates the existence of Manichaeism in Palestine and Sinai in the fifth century. There were also many Manichees in Egypt. The number of refutations written against the Manichees, and the edicts which were launched against them by the emperors, would imply the spread and influence of Manichaeism in the Eastern Roman provinces. See G. Widengren, Mani and Manichaeism, 117-127; J. Anderson, 'Manichaeism', Cath. Ency. IX, 595.

who are to be protected. But it seems that in the early Islamic period the Muslims were unaware of the existence of the Manichees, since neither in the Koran and ḥadīth nor in the other texts of the early Islamic period is there any reference to the Manichees. It is probable that the early Muslims, knowing nothing of Manichaeism identified them with either Christians, Zoroastrians or Sabians,[2] and consequently treated them as part of the protected community.

The Manichees' freedom to preach and practise their faith in the early Islamic era is similar to the case of some Christian sects such as the Nestorians who flourished after the rise of Islam.[3] H.S. Nyberg concluded that the early Muslim rulers probably encouraged the previously oppressed sects and religions in order to play them off against the powerful official churches: the Nestorians against the Jacobites, the Paulicians against the Greek Orthodox and the Manichees against the Zoroastrians.[4] But this cannot be accepted without reservations since we do not know whether the differences between these sects were known to the early caliphs. It is more probable that the special situation created by the defeat of two Empires which

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2. We have already mentioned that in certain places the Manichees were known as Christians; see above, p.95. For their being identified as Sabians there is a reference in al-Bīrūnī (Chronologie, 209) where it is stated that there were some Manichees in Samarqand who were known as Sabians.
3. See John Joseph, The Nestorians and their Muslim Neighbors, 26-27; A. Atiya, A Hist. of Eastern Christianity, 194, 267-269.
4. OLZ, XXXII (1928), 427-428.

were the patrons of powerful official churches on the one hand, and the religious tolerance shown towards the 'People of the Book' and especially the Christians on the other, gave an opportunity to the oppressed sects to take advantage of the situation. After the establishment of the caliphate in Damascus, which resulted in closer contact with the Christians, it is more likely that the Umayyad caliphs would have been aware of the differences among the Christian sects and played some sect off against others; likewise the later Umayyad governors of Iraq, where a Manichaean community lived, probably knew something about the religion of the Manichees, but tolerated them. A.A. Bevan suggests that it was the simplicity of the Manichaean cult and their abhorrence of idolatry which may for a while have served to protect them from suppression by the Muslim rulers.[5] It seems more likely that the tolerance which the Manichees enjoyed during the Umayyad period was due to the fact that Islamic dogma, being in an evolutionary stage, did not have any official, or standard form, and consequently the rulers showed more lenience towards different religious beliefs as long as they did not have any political aims. In the Umayyad period there was not any religious persecution or execution. The cases of the Shiites and Kharijites as well as the execution of Ja'd b. Dirham, Bayān b. Sam'ān and al-Mughīra[6] were

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5. ERE, VIII, 401a.
6. See Appendix, p.273.

basically political rather than theological. Thus the Manichees, with the pacific nature and ascetical characteristics of their religion, are likely to have been well treated.

The fall of the Sassanid Empire was also an opportunity for Manichees, who had fled to Transoxiana following the Sassanid persecution,[7] to return to Iraq, which had always been considered and accepted as the religious centre of Manichaeism.[8] The emigration to Iraq, according to an-Nadīm, took place especially at the time of 'the Persian disturbances' (fitnat al-Furs) and during the Umayyad period.[9] The 'Persian disturbances' presumably refers to the general dissension and uprisings which took place as a consequence of the Arab invasion of Khurāsān and Transoxiana in the early second half of the first century (A.H.)[10] It is highly improbable that it refers to the Azraqī rebellion as

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7. In Transoxiana, due to its particular socio-political organisation, there was no state religion. Although the ruling class were Zoroastrians, other religious groups such as the Buddhists and Nestorians were tolerated, and the Manichees persecuted in Persia found a safe refuge there. See W. Barthold, Turkestan, 180.
8. Nadīm, 400.
9. Loc. cit.
10. For the general situation of Khurāsān and Transoxiana in this period see Barthold, op. cit., 181-188.

B. Dodge presumed,[11] since that revolt took place mainly in Khūzistān, Fārs and Kirmān without spreading northwards to areas such as Khurāsān and Transoxiana,[12] where the Manichees lived. Nor could it be applied to the rising of Khidāsh ('Ammār b. Yazīd), a propagandist of the Abbasids in Khurāsān in 118/738, because the immigration of the Manichees apparently started earlier and a Manichaean community already existed in Iraq during the caliphate of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (86-96/705-715).[13] However, the immigration, which started in the second half of the first century A.H. must have continued for some years.

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11. An-Nadīm, The Fihrist, tr. B. Dodge, 802, n. 325.
12. The Azāriqa, followers of Nāfi' b. al-Azraq the Kharijite, at the time of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (65-86/684-705) were in control of Khūzistān, Fārs and Kirmān for many years. After six years of severe fighting they were eventually defeated by the army of the caliph in the year 78/692 (Ṭabarī, II, 822-827, 872-880, 1007, 1020-1021, 1033; al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīkh, II, 329-330; Murūj, III, 138; R. Rubinacci, 'Azarika', EI², I, 810-811. For a short period Ṭabaristān and Qūmis were battlefields of the Azāriqa who had left Kirmān. After a schism among them, Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a and his followers, who were mostly Arabs, leaving 'Abd Rabbih aṣ-Ṣaghīr, the other leader, fled to Ṭabaristān, where he was killed after a war with the Umayyad army. His aide 'Ubayda b. Hilāl was also killed in 72/692 (Ṭabarī, II, 1018, 1020-21).
13. Nadīm, 397.

A schism occurred in Manichaeism sometime before the end of the seventh century A.D., when some of the Manichees of Transoxiana disobeyed the leadership established in Babylonia and set up an independent organization. They were called Dīnāwariyya.[14] But the majority of the Manichees followed the leadership of Iraq and were called Mihriyya, after the name of their leader Mihr, whose pastoral position continued from the time of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (86-96/705-715) until the early second century A.H.[15]

A see of the Dīnāwariyya was set up in Iraq in the late first century A.H. by a certain Zād Hurmuz. Zād Hurmuz was a rich man who left his possessions and chose the ascetic life of the Electi (Ṣiddīqūn). After remaining for a while with the Mihriyya he left them and felt a desire to join the Dīnāwariyya in Khurāsān and Transoxiana, but a friend of his, who was a secretary of al-Ḥajjāj, the governor of Iraq (75-95/694-714), dissuaded him from travelling and built chapels (biya') for him in al-Madā'in. Following some correspondence with the centre of the Dīnāwariyya, Zād Hurmuz was recognized as the leader of the sect in Iraq.[16]

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14. The word Dīnāw(v)ar, meaning 'believer', is used as a religious term in Manichaean literature before the appearance of this sect. It is applied to the class of Electi in some Soghdian and Chinese texts. See W. Henning, 'Ein manichäisches Bet-und Beichtbuch', APAW, 1936, pp. 43, 44, 94; A. Vööbus, Hist. of Asceticism, I, 113.
15. Nadīm, 397.
16. Ibid., 397.

In the early second century A.H. (8th cent. A.D.), the Manichees of Iraq under the governorship of Khālid al-Qasrī gained more freedom and protection. Khālid b. ʻAbd Allāh al-Qasrī, who ruled Iraq from 105/723 to 120/738, was generally tolerant towards the non-Muslims[17] and in particular protected the Manichees.[18] Khālid himself was accused of being a Manichee (Zindīq), but the charge of Zandaqa in his case, as in the cases of the Umayyad caliphs al-Walīd b. Yazīd and Marwān b. Muḥammad, should be treated with doubt.[19]

Khālid b. ʻAbd Allāh al-Qasrī was on good terms with the sect of the Mihriyya, for it is said that he brought their leader Mihr on a mule and provided him with a silver seal, bestowing embroidered garments upon him.[20] This was among the reproaches which were levelled against the Mihriyya by their opponents the Dīnāwariyya (or Miqlāṣiyya), because the ascetic Manichees could travel only on foot, and using riding animals which was considered to be pampering the body was forbidden.[21]

Apart from the information preserved by an-Nadīm, there is no evidence which might indicate the attitude of the authorities to those two sects. However, the

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17. In a letter to Khālid, the Caliph Hishām asked: "What have you done in the way of asking help from Magians and Christians, and making them rule over the necks of the Muslims, and collecting their taxes, and exercising authority over them?" (al-Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, 790).
18. Nadīm, 400.
19. See Appendix A, p. 263.
20. Nadīm, 398; Eng. tr. 794.
21. A. Vööbus, Hist. of Asceticism, I, 117.

existence of these sects and the establishment of Manichaean churches provide some idea of the freedom which Manichees enjoyed under the Umayyad rulers.

The Dīnāwariyya offshoot who after the death of Zād Hurmuz followed a certain Miqlāṣ, were now called Miqlāṣiyya. Miqlāṣ, who was recommended to his position by his predecessor, differed with him in some religious matters such as the practice of protracted fasting. But his successor Abu Hilāl ad-Dayḥūrī[22] rejected the innovations of Miqlāṣ. Abū Hilāl, originally from North Africa (Ifrīqiyā) was a contemporary of the Abbasid Caliph al-Manṣūr (136-158/754-775). At that time it seems that a schism took place in the Miqlāṣiyya when a group of them followed a certain Buzurmihr who introduced some innovations. After Abū Hilāl the leadership of the Miqlāṣiyya fell to Abū Sa'īd Rajā'.[23]

In the Fihrist, our main source about the Manichees' leaders in the Abbasid period, there is some confusion regarding names. After the above account of Abū Sa'īd Rajā', an-Nadīm says: "Their status then continued like this until, during the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, there appeared a man among them who I believe was

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22. The word ad-Dayḥūrī (الديحورى) is recorded in this form in Flügel's ed. of al-Fihrist, with a variant reading الدعودى (vol. I, p. 334 ; vol. II, p.171); the word is printed in Tehran ed. (p. 399) as ad-Dayjūrī (الديجورى) which seems strange considering the meaning of dayjūr, 'darkness', and its place in the concept of Manichaeism. The signification of the word Dayḥūr, whether a name of a tribe or a place or otherwise is not yet known to us.
23. Nadīm, 398.

Yazdānbakht. He was opposed to certain things, and as he cajoled them, a company among them turned to him.... During the days of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim, the chief of the followers of Miqlāṣ was Abū 'Āli Sa'īd. Then afterwards there succeeded him his secretary, Naṣr ibn Hurmuzd al-Samarqandī. They authorized for the members of the sect and those who entered it things forbidden by the religion. They mingled with the rulers (salāṭīn) entrusting things to them. Abū al-Ḥasan ad-Dimashqī was one of their chiefs."[24] Some paragraphs later, an-Nadīm enumerates the names of Abū Yaḥyā ar-Ra'īs, Abū 'Alī Sa'īd, Abū 'Alī Rajā' and Yazdānbakht as the Manichees' leaders in the Abbasid period.[25] Let us now examine every case of these leaders:

1. Abū Sa'īd Rajā'. As we have already seen an-Nadīm mentions Abū Sa'īd Rajā' as the successor of Abū Hilāl ad-Dayḥūrī.[26] The latter was contemporary with al-Manṣūr (136-158/754-775) and thus Abū Sa'īd must have assumed his position sometime after the mid-second century A.H. He is most likely to be the same person as Abū 'Alī Rajā' whose name occurs among the Manichaean leaders in the Abbasid period,[27] although the variants of manuscripts read his name variously as رحا and رجاء.[28]

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24. Nadīm, 398; Eng. tr., 793-4.
25. Ibid., 401.
26. Ibid., 398.
27. Ibid., 401.
28. Flügel's ed. vol. I, p. 334 : Abū Sa'īd Raḥā; p. 338 : Abū 'Alī Rajā'. Tehran ed. p. 398 : Abū Sa'īd Raḥā, p. 401 : Abū 'Alī Raḥā.

It seems likely that the name of Abū Sa'īd in the list of Manichaean leaders was confused with that of Abū 'Alī Sa'īd, another Manichaean leader, and was then mis-written as Abū 'Alī Rajā'.

Abū Sa'īd Rajā' is not to be identified with a certain Abū Sa'īd al-Mānawī mentioned by ash-Shahristānī as one of the leaders of the Manichees (ra'īs min ru'asā'ihim) who was alive in the year 271/884.[29]

2. Abū 'Alī Sa'īd. He was the leader of the Miqlāṣiyya during the reigns of al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-833) and al-Mu'taṣim (218-227/833-842).[30] G. Vajda identified him with the Abū Sa'īd al-Mānawī mentioned by ash-Shahristānī,[31] but if we accept the accuracy of an-Nadīm's statement we can hardly accept this suggestion since it would entail an anachronism. It seems most likely that the Abū Sa'īd al-Mānawī mentioned by ash-Shahristānī is not to be identified with any of the names recorded by an-Nadīm.

This Abū 'Alī Sa'īd is probably the same person as Abū 'Alī az-Zindīq, whose name is mentioned in an account related by al-Jāḥiẓ: In a disputation which took place before the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, Muḥammad b. al-Jahm, 'Ajz al-'Utbī and al-Qāsim b. Sayyār could not take on 'the Zindīq, by agnomen Abū 'Alī'. Accordingly al-Ma'mūn

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29. Al-Milal wa-n-Niḥal, 192.
30. Nadīm, 398.
31. RSO, XVII, 191.

himself opened the discussion and confounded him. Nevertheless Abū ʻAlī did not repent and died in his religion.[32]

3. Yazdānbakht. According to an-Nadīm he was summoned by al-Ma'mūn from Rayy after he had given assurances for his safety. When the Muslim theologians refuted his arguments, al-Ma'mūn asked him to convert to Islam, but he replied "Your word is hearkened but you are not one of those who force people to abandon their faith." Al-Ma'mūn accepted this and settled him in the Mukharrim quarter and set guards to care for him, fearing lest there might be disturbances against him. He was an eloquent man.[33] The name of the sect of which he was a leader has not been mentioned, but since Abū ʻAlī Saʻīd was the leader of the Miqlāṣiyya in his time, it is probable that Yazdānbakht was the leader, or one of the leaders, of the Mihriyya. He, however, as an-Nadīm says, was opposed to certain things.[34] He was the author of a book, to a passage of which concerning the succession of the prophets there is a reference in al-Murtaḍā's commentary on al-Milal wa-n-Niḥal.[35] He is

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32. Al-Ḥayawān, IV, 442-443. The account is also narrated in Ibn Qutayba, ʻUyūn al-Akhbār (II, 152) without mentioning the name of Abū ʻAlī (instead of which is thanawiyyun). The latter account is found in some later sources such as Ibn ʻAbd Rabbih, al-ʻIqd al-Farīd, II, 207; Rāghib, Muḥāḍarāt, II, 182; Ibn Nubāta, Sarḥ al-ʻUyūn, 288.
33. Nadīm, 401-402; Eng. tr., 805.
34. Nadīm, 398.
35. Kessler, Mani, 249; A. Afshār, Mānī, 301.

probably the same person who was the author of a refutation against Christianity,[36] and a treatise about the Hearers.[37]

About the other Manichaean leader Abū Yaḥyā ar-Ra'īs and his date nothing is known. He may have been a leader of the Mihriyya, since the names of the Miqlāṣiyya's leaders are known to us.

The Manichaean Church continued to exist in Iraq in the second century A.H., and it also endured in the next century. The Manichaean Church seems to have not been totally destroyed during the Persecution of the Zindīqs in the years 163-170/779-787. Hence Prof. W.M. Watt suggests that it was not the traditional Manichaean communities but the new adherents of Manichaeism who were targets of the Persecution.[38] Although this suggestion may be valid in the majority of cases, it is nevertheless true that the Persecution also affected the traditional Manichaean communities,[39] who, despite their quiescence, suffered certain restrictions in the period of Persecution.

The Muslim-Manichaean disputation and the creation of an Arabic-Manichaean literature, as we shall see below, made a significant contribution to Islamic intellectual life.

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36. Al-Bīrūnī, Chronologie, 208.
37. Nadīm, 400; cf. below, p. 128.
38. Formative Period, 172.
39. See below, pp. 179-184.

MANICHAEAN AND ANTI-MANICHAEAN LITERATURE IN THE EARLY ABBASID PERIOD

I. Manichaean Literature

The Manichees always attached great importance to books. The books and epistles of Mani and their other leaders, which had been translated into various languages, played an important part in the propagation and expansion of the faith. Enumerating the advantages of his religion, Mani himself emphasised the importance of books: "My religion will remain until the end by the living books, by the teachers, the bishops, the Electi and the Hearers and by wisdom and works..... This revelation of mine of the two Principles and the living books, wisdom and the knowledge are more and better than those of the earlier religions."[1] Some other surviving fragments also imply this special attachment of Mani to scriptures.[2] A description given by al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 225/869) about the Manichees' attachment to books is noteworthy; he claimed that the Manichees were extremely fond of books and spent great fortunes on them. The bibliophile Manichees were extremely interested in the aesthetic of their books which were written in the most elegant of scripts on the best of

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1. L. Ort, Mani, 70-71 frag. M5794; the original text, which is in Middle Persian and one of the fragments found in Turkistan, was first published by W.B. Henning and F.C. Andreas, 'Mitteliranische Manichäica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan', SPAW, XXVII (1934), 295-296.
2. L. Ort, 63-66, 106.

papers in the finest ink.[3]

Manichaeism as a universal religion was not limited to any one language. Enumerating the points of superiority of his religion, Mani himself says: "The former religions were in one country and one language, then my religion is thus in every country and every language."[4] It is to be understood from the sources that the Manichees of the Abbasid period, in parallel with their preaching mission, created a remarkable literature in Arabic, the new linguafranca, by writing and translating.

The circulation of Manichaean literature in the early Abbasid period was noted by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Abdī who has been cited by al-Mas'ūdī. He indicates that books of Mani, Ibn Dayṣān (Bardaisan) and Marqiyūn (Marcion) were widespread. They are either Arabic translations by Ibn al-Muqaffa' and others from Persian and Pahlavi, or compilations by Abi l-'Awjā', Ḥammād 'Ajrad, Yaḥyā b. Ziyād and Muṭī' b. Iyās, which support Manichaeism, Bardaisanism and Marcionism.[5] These two accounts of al-Jāḥiẓ and al-Mas'ūdī and the penetration of Manichaeism among the intellectuals does indeed imply that a remarkable role was played by the Manichees in the cultural life of Iraq.

Apart from a scant number of miscellaneous fragments,

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3. Al-Ḥayawān, I, 55-56.
4. L. Ort, op. cit., 70-71, frag. M5794.
5. Murūj, IV, 223-224.

the Arabic Manichaean texts, unfortunately, have not survived, but there are traces of their existence up to the 5th/11th century. An-Nadīm, who compiled his Fihrist in 334/988, took his data from the original Manichaean texts in Arabic which were available in his time in Baghdad, where a Manichaean community existed until the 4th/10th century. His valuable chapter on Manichaeism is considered to be one of the most reliable sources and the information which it gives has been confirmed by recently discovered fragments. Since there is no evidence that an-Nadīm was familiar with Syriac and Pahlavi, it is hard to assume that he had studied the Syriac or Pahlavi texts. Furthermore, the titles of the Manichaean works described by him and enumeration of their chapters supports the idea that he had used Arabic versions of Manichaean works. At a later period, al-Bīrūnī (362-440/972-1048), after a prolonged search for the Sifr al-Asrār of Mani, which had been recommended by ar-Rāzī (251-313/865-925), secured a collection of Manichaean works. The volume which was taken to Khawārazm from Hamadān contained: Firaqmāṭiyā, Sifr al-Jabābira, Kanz al-Iḥyā', Subḥ al-Yaqīn, at-Ta'sīs, al-Injīl, ash-Shābūrqān, Sifr al-Asrār and some epistles of Mani.[6]

The Arabic Manichaean books were mostly annihilated

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6. Al-Bīrūnī, Risāla on the Writing of ar-Rāzī, ed. P. Kraus, 4; cf. idem, Chronologie, p.xxxix.

by their opponents. During the Persecution period, in the year 163/778, on the orders of the Caliph al-Mahdī a number of the Zanādiqa were executed and their books were cut with knives.[7] On the 15th Ramadān 311/28 Nov. 923 the portrait of Mani and four sacks (_'idl_) of the books of the Zanādiqa were burnt at the Bāb al-'Āmma in Baghdād.[8]

Thus we have no reason to doubt the existence of a large number of Manichaean works in Arabic. Apart from those books which were originally compiled in Arabic, a portion of them, such as the seven Scriptures of Mani, were translated into Arabic, either from Syriac or Middle Persian. Although al-Mas'ūdī's account indicates that they were translated from Persian and Pahlavi (_turjimat min al-Fārisīyya wa l-Fahlawiyya_), it would seem more probable that a portion of Manichaean literature had been translated from Syriac, the native language of Mani. Of course, the original Syriac and Middle Persian texts also were extant in the early Abbasid period.

The following is a list of those Arabic Manichaean works, to which some reference can be found in our sources:

A. _The Works of Mani_. As lists and descriptions of Mani's books have been provided by scholars such as

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7. Ṭabarī, III, 499; cf. below p. 177. The later author Ibn al-Athīr also says that ar-Rashīd ordered books of Mani to be burnt (_al-Lubāb_, I, 511).
8. Ibn al-Jawzī, _al-Muntaẓam_, VI, 176.

P. Alfaric,[9] W.B. Henning,[10] G. Widengren,[11] E.M. Boyce,[12] and L.J. Ort,[13] there is little point in repeating or further summarising these studies. Our aim is to mention the Arabic versions of Mani's works and those items of information which can be gleaned from the Islamic sources, and would support our thesis about the spread of Manichaeism in the early Abbasid period.

All of the works of Mani were originally written in Syriac, except one (Shāpū ͡rgān) which was in Pahlavi. The following are the canonical books which were rendered into Arabic:

1. Sifr al-Asrār (the Book of Secrets). No portion of this book has been discovered. An-Nadīm, who apparently had seen the book, enumerates its eighteen chapters,[14] of which three chapters were devoted to Bardaisanism and its refutation. Al-Mas'ūdī also mentions that Mani devoted a chapter to the Dayṣāniyya (the Bardaisanites) in his book Sifr al-Asfār (sic).[15]

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9. Les écritures manichéennes, II, 3-75.
10. 'The compendium of the doctrines and styles of the teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light', Asia Major, III (1952), 204-211.
11. Mani and Manichaeism, 76-81.
12. A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection.
13. Mani, 106-117.
14. Nadīm, 399.
15. At-Tanbīh wa l-Ishrāf, 117. Sifr al-Asfār instead of Sifr al-Asrār which also appears in al-Bīrūnī's Chronologie, 208 and one of the manuscripts of al-Fihrist (Flügel's ed., II, 173; idem, Mani, 72, 355, 356) could be a misspelling of Sifr al-Asrār, or probably another known title of it among the Muslims, but considering its name in an other language such as Rāzān in Middle Persian (cf. W.B. Henning, op. cit., 207) the latter assumption can hardly be accepted.

The book, according to al-Ya'qūbī, criticises the prophets.[16] This criticism may have been of some Israelite prophets such as Moses, in whom Mani did not believe. Ar-Rāzī (9251-313/865-925), who denied prophethood and criticised all religions, was familiar with Manichaean literature and especially the Sifr al-Asrār.[17] In a surviving passage of one of his books in which he criticises Judaism, he refers to the Manichaean criticism of Judaism and claims that Moses was one of the messengers of the Devils (Rusul ash-Shayāṭīn) and says "Whosoever is interested in this /subject/ should read the Sifr al-Asrār of the Manichees, and he will become acquainted with their views on Judaism from Abraham down to 'Īsā."[18] Obviously, ar-Rāzī was not an adherent of Manichaeism,[19] but as 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Badawī rightly observes, he exploited the criticism of every religion against the other.[20] In his book India, al-Bīrūnī, who possessed a copy of the Sifr al-Asrār,[21] quoted two passages from it, one about Jesus and the Apostles and the other about the Bardaisanites.[22]

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16. At-Ta'rīkh, I, 140.
17. A. Badawī, Min Ta'rīkh al-Ilḥād fī l-Islam, 198-228.
18. Ibid., 215.

19. Cf. below p. 140 about his disputation with the Manichaean leader Sīs and his refutation of him.
20. A. Badawī, op. cit., 215.
21. Cf. above, p. 116.
22. India, 27.

An epistle entitled Risālat 'Abd Bāl fī Sifr al-Asrār which is mentioned by an-Nadīm among the Manichaean literature,[23] was probably a commentary or note on the Sifr al-Asrār.

2. Sifr al-Jabābira (the Book of Giants). Some discovered fragments of this book have been assembled and published by W.B. Henning.[24] The book relates the story of the fallen angels and their giant sons in an adapted form of the Book of Enoch, which had been originally composed in Hebrew in the second century B.C.[25] Mani, who was hardly likely to have been able to read Hebrew, must have used the Aramaic version.[26] The original Syriac version of the Book of Giants was translated into several languages such as Middle Persian, Greek, Sogdian, Uyghur and Coptic.[27] The Arabic version certainly existed until the 7th/13th century. We have already mentioned that al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) had seen it in a collection of Manichaean works.[28] Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ghaḍanfar at-Tabrīzī, writing in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. used the Book of Giants, and in his work al-Mashshāṭa li-Risālat al-Fihrist claims: "The Book of Sifr al-Jabābira by Mani of Babylon is filled with

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23. Nadīm, 400.
24. 'The Book of Giants', BSOAS, XI (1943-44), 52-74.
25. Ibid., 53-54.
26. Ibid., 52.
27. Ibid., 55.
28. Cf. above, p. 116.

stories about these giants amongst whom are Sām and Narīmān."[29] From the occurrence of names such as Sām and Narīmān in the Arabic version, W.B. Henning came to the conclusion that the Arabic version had been translated from the Middle Persian rather than Syriac, because in their translations the Manichees had adopted the practice of changing the original names and adapting them to local traditions.[30]

3. Al-Injīl (the Gospel).[31] According to some Arabic sources it contained 22 chapters corresponding to the number of letters of the Syriac alphabet.[32] Al-Bīrūnī, who had seen it,[33] says that the Manichees' Gospel is totally different from that of the Christians,

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29. This passage of his book has been quoted from a manuscript by E. Sachau in his introduction to al-Bīrūnī, Chronologie, p. xiv.
30. Henning, op. cit., 55.
31. It is also called 'The Great Gospel' and 'The Living Gospel' and some fragments of it have been discovered in Turfan (cf. Henning, 'The Compendium', Asia Major, III (1952), 205; P. Alfaric, II, 34-43).
32. Al-Ya'qūbī, at-Ta'rīkh, I, 140; al-Bīrūnī, Chronologie, 207. Apparently, every chapter was called Injīl, as al-Ya'qūbī enumerating Mani's works says: " ... and 12 /sic, probably 22/ Injils, each of which is called by the /name/ of a letter, and mentions prayers and what is useful for the salvation of the Soul." An-Nadīm (p. 19) also refers to it in its plural form Anājīl.
33. See above, p. 116.

and they believe in it and consider it accurate and other Gospels false.[34] In his Gospel, Mani claimed to be the Paraclete (al-Fārqilīṭ) and the seal of the Prophets.[35] A short passage of the first chapter (Bāb al-Alif) of the Gospel has also been quoted by al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh (764-840/1362-1436) in his commentary on al-Milal wa-n-Niḥal.[36]

In his account of the Manichaean Gospel, al-Bīrūnī mentions that a copy /or version/ (nuskha) of it is called Injīl as-Sab'īn and is attributed to بلامس[37] /?/, and that its preface claims that Sallām b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sallām wrote it from the sayings of Salmān al-Fārisī, but the Christians and others deny it.[38] Since there is no more information to support or explain al-Bīrūnī's account, our knowledge of the Injīl as-Sab'īn remains rather vague. However one can hardly presume that it is a work of Mani himself.

4. Kanz al-Iḥyā' (or: al-Ḥayāt)[39] (the Treasure of Life). A similarity has been found between the title of Kanz

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34. Chronologie, 23.
35. Ibid., 207. Cf. G. Guispel, 'Mani the Apostle of Jesus Christ', Gnostic Studies, II, 230-237.
36. It is quoted in Kessler, Mani, 346.
37. This name is unknown to us. Some variants of al-Mawā'iẓ wa l-I'tibār (IV, 208) by al-Maqrīzī (766-845/1364-1441), whose source was probably al-Bīrūnī, read also: بلامس , تلامس · G. Wiet, the editor, presumes that تلامس is a corrupt form of تلاميذ (Afshār, 304).
38. Chronologie, 23.
39. An-Nadīm (p. 399) calls it Sifr al-Iḥyā'. A short form al-Kanz has also been recorded in some sources such as al-Mas'ūdī, at-Tanbīh, 117 and Agapius, K. al-'Unwān, 76.

al-Iḥyā and Ginza (Treasure), the holy book of the Mandaeans, among whom Mani spent his early life.[40] Al-Ya'qūbī says that the book is about luminous salvation and the dark corruption.[41] Al-Mas'ūdī states that a chapter of this book is devoted to the Marcionites,[42] and al-Bīrūnī quotes a passage of it dealing with the dwellers in the realm of Light.[43]

5. Ash-Shābūrqān (Shāpūrgān). Some fragments of this, written by Mani in Middle Persian, have been found. The quotations from and references to it in the Arabic sources imply the existence of an Arabic version of Shāpūrgān. Al-Ya'qūbī mentions that the book deals with the Soul (nafs) and the celestial sphere (falak);[44] an-Nadīm enumerates three chapters of it: Bāb Inḥilāl as-Sammā'īn (the death of the Hearers), Bāb Inḥilāl al-Mujtabayn (the death of the Elect) and Bāb Inḥilāl al-Khuṭāt (the death of the sinners).[45] Al-Bīrūnī quotes some data from the chapter on the coming of the Apostle (Bāb Majī' ar-Rasūl) of the Shābūrqān which contains some autobiographical notes by Mani.[46] A quotation about the King of the Realm of the Light (Malik 'Ālam an-Nūr) from the beginning of the Shābūrqān is given by ash-Shahristānī.[47]

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40. See W.B. Henning, 'The Compendium', Asia Major, III (1952), 205-207.
41. At-Ta'rīkh, I, 139.
42. At-Tanbīh, 117.
43. India, 18-19.
44. At-Ta'rīkh, I, 140.
45. Nadīm, 399.
46. Chronologie, 118, 207, 208.
47. Al-Milal, 192.

6. Firaqmāṭiyā (Pragmatia). Al-Birūnī possessed a copy of it,[48] and an-Nadīm mentions the title without any indication of its contents.[49] The contents of the book were probably of a practical ethical kind, but unfortunately there is neither any fragment of quotation from nor any reference to this book in Arabic or any other language.

7. K. Farā'iḍ as-Sammā'īn (the Ordinances of the Hearers), K. Farā'iḍ al-Mujtabayn (the Ordinances of the Electi). These two books which have been mentioned by an-Nadīm,[50] may have been considered a single work, since otherwise we would be left with eight titles where an-Nadīm explicitly refers to seven Manichaean Scriptures. There is no mention of this book in other Arabic sources, but it may be presumed that the above title was a version of the book of Psalms and Prayers, some fragments of which are extant in Coptic.

8. The Epistles. The Epistles of Mani together with those of other Manichaean leaders have been listed by an-Nadīm.[51] Al-Bīrūnī also saw some of them.[52]

There are other titles of works recorded and

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48. See above, p. 116.
49. P. 399. After the name of Firaqmāṭiyā (and also in the cases of Sifr al-Jabābira and Sifr al-Iḥyā'), an-Nadīm writes 'wa yaḥtawī' and leaves a blank space, presumably in order to complete his information by consulting the text, and enumerating the chapters.
50. P. 339.
51. P. 400.
52. See above, p.116.

attributed to Mani in the Arabic sources, of which we know nothing. It could be assumed that some of these works were Mani's Epistles or that their attribution to Mani was apocryphal. They are:

a. K. al-Ḥudā wa-t-Tadbīr is mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī as a book of Mani.[53] Among the list given by an-Nadīm of the Epistles of Mani and his successors, there are two separate works entitled Risālat at-Tadbīr and Risālat al-Hudā aṣ-Ṣaghīra.[54] It may be that the K. al-Ḥudā wa-t-Tadbīr mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī was a volume containing these two epistles.

b. K. al-Jibilla is mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī[55] and al-Shahrastānī,[56] the latter quoting a passage from it. The reading of the word الجبلة, which is found in all the variant manuscripts of the two above works seems peculiar. It seems most probable that it is a corrupt form of انجيل or انجيلة. This would be supported by a remark of al-Shahrastānī in which he says "wa-dhakara al-Ḥakīm Mānī fī Bāb al-Alif min al-Jibilla", which indicates that the chapters of the book were divided according to the alphabet. The only book of Mani to be ordered in this was his Gospel (Injīl).[57] This is

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53. At-Ta'rīkh, I, 140.
54. P. 400.
55. At-Tanbīh, 117.
56. Al-Milal, 192.
57. See above, p.121.

further supported by the fact that in a commentary of al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh on al-Milal wa n-Niḥal, in which the above passage has been quoted, the word in question is clearly انجيله .[58]

c. K. al-Jidāl. Agapius (d. after 330/942) enumerates the books of Mani as: K. al-Asrār, al-Injīl, K. al-Kanz and K. al-Jidāl.[59] Since there is no other reference to this work in our sources, the doubt about the accuracy of this title will remain. It may be suggested that the word الجدال is a corrupt form of الجبابرة, the title of a famous book of Mani.[60]

d. Subḥ al-Yaqīn, at-Ta'sīs. These two books were among other Manichaean works in the collection which was secured by al-Bīrūnī.[61] W.B. Henning presumed it to be The Psalms and Prayers,[62] but there is no obvious evidence for this. It would seem more probable that they were works of other Manichees rather than Mani himself. Al-Bīrūnī's statement does not imply that all books in his collection are to be attributed to Mani himself, although, apart from the two above mentioned books, the others are works of Mani. Al-Bīrūnī says: "/It was/ a volume /which/ contains the following works from the Manichaean books: Firaqmāṭiyā,

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58. K. al-Munya wa-l-Amal; the chapter dealing with Manichaeism is quoted by Kessler, Mani, 349.
59. Al-'Unwān, 273.
60. See above, p. 120.
61. See above, p. 116.
62. Asia Major, III, (1952), 209, n.2.

Sifr al-Jabābira, Kanz al-Iḥyā', Ṣubḥ al-Yaqīn, at-Ta'sīs, al-Injīl...."[63] It may therefore be assumed that the two above-mentioned books were by other Manichees rather than by Mani himself.

B. The Works of the Manichees. In his list of the Epistles of Mani and his successors, an-Nadīm recorded 76 titles about which our knowledge is very scanty. There is even doubt as to the accuracy of the forms of some titles. This list is the only record of the Manichaean epistles, but unfortunately not one of them is extant, nor do we even have any fragment of or reference to them in Arabic sources. Furthermore, Manichaean literature in other languages does little to amplify our data, as only a few of the epistles have been identified in non-Arabic Manichaean texts.[64] But amongst these titles some familiar names of the Manichaean leaders appear, for example the name of Sīs (Sisinnios), the disciple of Mani and his first successor,[65] in Risālat Sīs Dhāt al-Wajhayn, Risālat Sīs fī r-Ruhūn and Risālat Sīs fī z-Zamān,[66] and the name of

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63. Risāla on the Writing of ar-Rāzī, p. 4; Chronologie, p. xxxix.
64. E.g. Risāla Armaniyya and Risālat Sīs wa Fātiq, cf. Henning, Asia Major, III (1952), 206.
65. Manichaean sources indicate that Mani appointed Sīs (Sisinnios) as his successor. The Manichaean Psalm (4th cent. A.D.) says: "Thou didst appoint the twelve Teachers and the seventy Bishops. Thou didst make Sisinnios leader of the children." (C. Allberry, A Manichaean Psalm-Book (Stuttgart, 1938), II, 42-47). Cf. a fragment of the Parthian prose text (M5569) in L. Ort, Mani, 60-62, 153-154; and Nadīm, 397.
66. Nadīm, 400.

Zakū, the disciple of Mani and one of the Teachers,[67] in Risālat Zakū fī z-Zamān.[68] These works of the early Manichaean leaders must have been translated into Arabic from another language, probably Syriac, but the later works such as Risālat as-Sammā'īn fī Ta'bīr Yazdānbakht,[69] which has an apparent connection with Yazdānbakht, the Manichaean leader of Abbasid times, may have been originally composed in Arabic.

Yazdānbakht, the leader of the Manichaeans at the time of al-Ma'mūn,[70] also composed a refutation against Christianity,[71] besides the above-mentioned epistles, which may be his own work or a collection of his sayings and views about the Hearers. In his commentary on ash-Shahrastānī's al-Milal wa n-Niḥal, al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh quotes a passage about the Prophets from a book of Yazdānbakht, without mentioning its title (wa za'ama Yazdānbakht fī kitābih).[72]

Another figure among the Manichaean writers is Ibn al-Muqaffa'. We have already mentioned the account of Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Abdī of the latter's translation of Manichaean literature into Arabic.[73] A quotation from

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67. Zakū and Sham'ūn (Simon) were two disciples of Mani who accompanied him on his visit to King Shāpūr (Nadīm, 392).
68. Ibid., 400.
69. Loc. cit.
70. See above, p. 112.
71. Al-Bīrūnī, Chronologie, 209.
72. K. al-Munya wa al-Amal, quoted in Kessler, Mani, 349. It is noteworthy that the same statement can be found in al-Milal wa n-Niḥal (p. 192) without referring to Yazdānbakht and his book.
73. See above, p. 115.

the Caliph al-Mahdī who said "I have not seen any book on Zandaqa, but its origin was from Ibn al-Muqaffa'"[74] is also noteworthy, although it should be accepted cautiously. A book of Ibn al-Muqaffa' about Manichaeism, of which the title is unknown to us, has been refuted by the Zaydite Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm, and the latter has preserved some fragments of the lost work of Ibn al-Muqaffa'. The authenticity of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s book on Manichaeism has been discussed by some modern scholars and most of them have no hesitation in attributing it to Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Unlike M. Guidi[75] and Nyberg,[76] whose attempts to find some similarity between this treatise and other works of Ibn al-Muqaffa' failed, F. Gabrieli has identified certain resemblances in both form and idea.[77]

Apart from fragments which he quotes verbatim, al-Qāsim sometimes refers to some subjects of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s book without any quotation.[78] Both the direct quotations and the descriptions serve to indicate the contents of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s treatise. He starts his work with praise of the Light and His Highness,[79]

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74. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, II, 151.
75. His introduction on al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm, ar-Radd 'alā z-Zindīq al-La'īn Ibn al-Muqaffa', pp. xii-xvi.
76. OLZ, XXXII (1929), 432.
77. 'L' opera d'ibn al-Muqaffa', RSO, XIII (1932), Ar. tr. in: A. Badawī, Min Ta'rīkh al-Ilḥād fī al-Islām, 44-45.
78. Al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm, op. cit., 48, 49, 52.
79. Ibid., 8-11.

then he criticises the Islamic God,[80] Islam[81] and the Prophet.[82]

Of the works of the other writers such as Ibn Abī al-'Awjā', Ḥammād 'Ajrad, Yaḥyā b. Ziyād and Muṭi' b. Iyās, who are mentioned by al-Mas'udī,[83] there is no trace in our sources. Some names of intellectuals of the Abbasid period have recorded by an-Nadīm as being adherents of Manichaeism and having written apologetic books in defence of Dualism and in refutation of other theological views; they are Ibn Ṭālūt, his nephew, Abū Shākir, Ibn al-A'mā (or A'dā) al-Ḥarīzī, Ibn Abī al-'Awjā', Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Quddūs, Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq, Abū al-'Abbās an-Nāshi' and al-Jayhānī.[84] Unfortunately, our sources shed no light on their works on Manichaeism. Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq (d. 247/861), whose belief in Manichaeism is questionable, is also mentioned by al-Khayyāṭ as having adhered to Manichaeism and written books in support of it.[85] However, there is no trace of any work of his on Manichaeism and Dualism, except for a work refuting Dualism entitled K. Iqtiṣāṣ Madhāhib Aṣḥāb al-Ithnayn wa r-Radd 'alayhim which has been recorded by an-Nadīm.[86] Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Quddūs, whom we shall discuss later, had a book entitled K. ash-Shukūk,[87] which may or may not be a work supporting

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80. Ibid., 17, 20, 22, 24, 30, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40.
81. Ibid., 28.
82. Ibid., 29.
83. See above, p.115.
84. Nadīm, 401.
85. Al-Intiṣār, 149.
86. P. 216.
87. See below, p. 202.

Manichaeism. One account ascribes the books Uss al-Ḥikma and Bustān al-Falsafa to a certain Ja'far al-Aḥmarī who had been tried by the Caliph al-Mahdī on a charge of Zandaqa.[88] Although, according to the account, al-Mahdī refers to these books as evidence of Zandaqa, we can hardly assert that they were on Manichaeism, since there is no further information about them. Their titles indeed imply rather a philosophical content.

II. Anti-Manichaean Literature

The refutations and anti-Manichaean literature which had been produced since the beginning of the fourth century A.D. by the Christians,[89] and later on a limited scale by the Zoroastrians, were continued during the eighth and ninth centuries by these groups now joined by the theologians of the new religion of

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88. Al-Bayhaqī, al-Maḥāsin wa-l-Masāwī, II, 169 (Afshār, 441).

89. The earliest refutation was written about the year 300 A.D. in Greek by Alexander of Lycopolis in Upper Egypt, and has been edited and published by A. Brinkman (Alexandri Lycopolitani Contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio, Leipzig, 1895). He criticises Manichaean doctrine on the Two Principles, the creation, the mixing of matter and spirit and the custom of the Manichees of abstaining from marriage and procreation. Although the author, Alexander, speaks of Christianity with a certain respect, it is doubtful whether he ever became a Christian; he more probably was a neo-Platonist, and his argument is a neo-Platonist's attack on Gnosticism in the spirit of Plotinus and Porphyrius. His work is the only refutation which treats the subject from a purely philosophical point of view (P. Alfaric, Les Écritures manichéennes, I, 111; A.A. Bevan 'Manichaeism', ERE, VII, 395a; L. Ort, Mani, 34).

Islam. Generally, the refutations written by the Christians are far greater in quantity than those of the Muslims and the Zoroastrians, and those of the latter are the scantiest in quantity and weakest in quality, from the point of view of disputation and reasoning. However, the number of polemic and apologetic works of the 7th-9th centuries would imply the spread of Manichaeism in the area, which necessitated defence of the Faith.

Among the few Pahlavi polemical works of the post-Islamic era, the book Shikand-Gūmānig Vichār (or Shkand-Vimānik Vizhār) (lit. 'Doubt-dispelling Explanation') is of great importance. Defending Zoroastrianism, the author, Martān Farrukh son of Ōhrmazd-dāt, compiled his work in Pahlavi in the 9th century A.D.[90] Apart from the first part, which examines some theological questions, the treatise is mainly a polemic work dealing with the four current religions of Judaism, Christianity, Islam and Manichaeism. The final chapter (XVI) is devoted to Manichaeism, and contains an exposition of Manichaean cosmology followed by criticism. Unfortunately the

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90. The original Pahlavi text has not been discovered; a Pāzand version of it made by Neryosang in the later half of the twelfth century A.D. does exist, upon which E.W. West based his English translation (Pahlavi Texts, part III, Oxford, 1885; The Sacred Books of the East, vol. XXIV). The Pāzand text has been edited by E.W. West and Jāmāsp-Āsānā (Bombay, 1887) and later by J. De Menasce with French tr. (Fribourg-en-Suisse, 1945). For a study of it see intro. to West's tr. (pp. xxv-xxvi) and J. De Menasce 'Zoroastrian Literature after the Muslim Conquest', The Camb. Hist. of Iran, IV, 560-564.

latter part of this chapter is missing, although it is presumed that the loss of text is not very extensive.[91] The main part of this chapter (1-52) has been translated and annotated by W. Jackson.[92]

Gujastak Abālīsh (the accursed Abālīsh) is a short treatise which records a disputation between the author Aturfaranbag son of Farrukhzād and Abālīsh in the caliphal palace of al-Ma'mūn. Abālīsh,[93] who is described as a 'Zandīk'[94] was an apostate Zoroastrian who probably converted to Manichaeism and left his home for Baghdad to dispute with the 'wise men' of the Zoroastrians, Muslims, Jews and Christians. After some disputations, al-Ma'mūn eventually called Āturfaranbag (Ādharfaranbagh), the chief of the Zoroastrians in Fārs to Baghdad for a dialogue with Abālīsh. The seven short chapters of the book contain the seven questions about various Zoroastrian doctrines and practices which were raised by Abālīsh and answered by Ādharfaranbagh. The dialogue ends with the confutation of Abālīsh and the approval and satisfaction of the 'Amīr-i Mu'minīn Ma'mūn'.

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91. E.W. West, op. cit., p. xxvii.
92. Researches in Manichaeism, 174-201.
93. His Mazdean name, before his apostasy, was Dād-Ohrmazd (Gj.Ab.ch.0.3). There are controversies about the origin and etymology of the name Abālīsh, which owing to the ambiguities of Pahlavi script can be read in different ways. There are suggestions such as iblīs, ablah, Abaris and Wahballah (cf. Gj.Ab. ed. H.F. Chacha, 1, 48-49. J.De Menasce, op. cit., 544).
94. Gj.Ab. ch.0,1. Chacha's ed. p. 11, 49.

H.H. Schaeder regards Abālīsh as a sceptic free-thinker rather than a Manichee,[95] while J. De Menasce says that Abālīsh was a Zoroastrian convert to Islam, who had changed his name from Dād-Ohrmazd to Wahballāh, and that Abālīsh is a misreading of the latter.[96] There is nothing in the treatise, however, to suggest the Islamic views of Abālīsh; on the contrary, there are points which may imply his conversion to Manichaeism rather than Islam. Firstly, his disputation was with the Zoroastrians, Jews, Christians and Muslims in Baghdad, and not with the Manichees, and secondly, al-Ma'mūn's approval of and satisfaction with Ādharfaranbagh's answers which confuted Abālīsh make it difficult to believe that he was a Muslim, a co-religionist of the Caliph. Thus his adherence to Manichaeism would seem more probable. The treatise of Gujastak Abālīsh does not, however, refer directly to Manichaeism, rather as a apologetic work it defends the Zoroastrian faith from the doubts and criticisms raised by the Zandīks.[97]

From the Christian side the Manichees were condemned for their false creeds, especially Dualism. In his major theological work, the Fount of Knowledge, St. John of Damascus (Chrysorrhoas), refuted the heresy of

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95. Iranische Beiträge, I, 287.
96. J.De Menasce, op. cit., 544.
97. Another Zoroastrian polemic work, which is outside the period of our research, is Dinkart III, written in 4th/10th century, and containing remarkable accounts of Manichaeism. For a study of it see W. Jackson, Research in Manichaeism, 203-217. J. De Menasce, op. cit., 553-560.

Manichaeism. The second part of the book De Haeresibus (on Heresies), deals with one hundred heresies,[98] of which chapter 66 is devoted to Manichaeism. In this chapter St. John briefly criticises the Manichees, 'who are also called Aconites'[99] for their wrong belief in God, Christ and the Old Testament, their worshipping of the Sun and Moon and their praying to stars, powers and demons.[100] Aiming to give a brief view of heresies and false ideas, from Barbarism to Iconoclasm, St. John does not discuss Manichaeism or other heresies in detail, with a few exceptions. It is noteworthy that the only original chapters of De Haeresibus are the three which deal with the Ishmaelites (Muslims), the Iconoclasts and Aposchistae, and that the rest of the material about heresies has been taken from previous sources,[101] and thus what is said about Manichaeism is not the original writing of St. John himself.

Apart from this brief chapter, St. John Damascene refutes Manichaeism in two separate treatises in the form of dialogue, Disputation with a Manichaean[102] and

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98. There is an argument as to whether De Haeresibus is a part of the Fount of Knowledge or not, and whether the number of its chapter is 100 or 103. Cf. Daniel J. Sahas, John of Damascus on Islam, 55-57.
99. The corrupt form of Acuanite, from Acuas, the name of a third-century Manichaean teacher from Mesopotamia.
100. John of Damascus, Saint John of Damascus' Writing, tr. by Frederic H. Chase (Washington, 1970), 127.
101. The first eighty chapters are taken verbatim from St. Epiphanius (315-403) Panarion (PG, XLI-XLII), and the data about the next twenty heresies (81-100) are dependent upon the works of Theodoret, Timothy of Constantinople, Sophronius of Jerusalem and Leontius of Byzantium (F. Chase, introduction op. cit., p. xxix-xxi).
102. PG, XCVI, 1319-1336.

the much longer Dialogue against the Manichaeans.[103] The disputation, after a brief dialogue about the nature of truth and falsehood, begins with questions about good and evil. The main theme of these treatises is the problem of Dualism, but consequently he deals also with other questions such as the Trinity,[104] the creation of the Devil,[105] disease and disaster,[106] action and intention,[107] judgment[108] and punishment,[109] and finally the dialogue ends with an explanation of Orthodox ideas on Monotheism, free will and punishment.[110]

In the Abbasid epoch, about the year 791-792 A.D., the Christian bishop of Mesopotamia, Theodoreus bar Kōnai compiled in Syriac[111] his famous work Ktābā eskolyōn (Book of Scholia).[112] It contains a section

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103. PG, XCIV, 1505-1584.
104. Ibid., 1509-1512.
105. Ibid., 1540, 1568.
106. Ibid., 1544, 1552.
107. Ibid., 1520.
108. Ibid., 1533.
109. Ibid., 1548.
110. Ibid., 1580-84.
111. The earliest Syriac refutation was written by St. Ephraem of Nisibis, known also as Ephraim Syrus (d. 373 A.D.). In a series of five discourses addressed to Hypatius, he refuted Mani together with Marcion and Bardaisan. Another tract of his against Mani also contains a severe attack against the Manichaean system. These works, which contain some important data about Manichaean doctrines and nomenclature, together with polemic treatises against Marcion and Bardaisan, have been edited and translated into English in two volumes by C.W. Mitchell and completed after his death by A.A. Bevan and F.C. Burkitt, S. Ephraim's Prose Refutation of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan (Oxford, 1912-1921).
112. The text was first ed. and tr. by H. Pognon, Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khouabir (Paris, 1898), in which pp. 127-131 and 184-193 contain the text and translation of Theodore's section on Manichaeism. Another ed. and tr. has been made by F. Cumont (Recherches sur le manichéisme I. La cosmogonie manichéenne d'après Theodore bar Khōni, Brussels, 1908, pp. 1-80) and H.H. Schaeder (studien zun antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland, Leipzig and Berlin, 1926).

dealing with Manichaeism and its refutation, in which some valuable data are to be found for the history of Mani.[113]

The Muslims, the new opponents of Manichaeism, beginning from the first century A.H. with the growth of theological arguments, engaged in verbal disputes against the dualist religions and heresies, and in particular, Manichaeism.[114] Their polemic literature appeared later, by the turn of the second century. The main theme of the arguments, as with the Christian-Manichaean dialogue, was the Unity of God, proving His almightiness and rejecting the dualistic idea. In this respect, the Mu'tazilites, the most zealous theologians of Unity, played the major part.[115]

Many disputations took place between the Manichees and the Muslim theologians in various places ranging from mosques to the caliphal palaces, in which, sometimes, Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians also participated.[116]

Theologians such as Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā'[117] Abū l-Hudhayl

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113. Part of this section, which deals with Mani's teaching about the beginning of the world, has been translated and annotated by W. Jackson in his work Researches in Manichaeism, 221-254.
114. It is noteworthy that, like their Christian predecessors (cf. S. Ephraim's Prose Refutation of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan), the Muslims refuted the Marcionites and the Bardaisanites together with the Manichees, cf. al-Māturīdī, K. at-Tawḥīd, 157-172; Ibn Ḥazm, al-Faṣl, 135, 44.
115. See al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt, II, 585; al-Khaṭīb, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, IX, 304; al-Khayyāṭ, al-Intiṣār, 30-32.
116. Cf. al-Jāḥiz, al-Ḥayawān, IV, 442; Gujastak Abālīsh, ch. 0,3.
117. Al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh, Ṭabaqāt al-Mu'tazila, 29-30.

al-'Allāf,[118] Muḥammad b. al-Jahm al-Barmakī,[119] Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Utbī[120] and al-Qāsim b. Sayyār[121] all had disputations with the Manichees.

A number of accounts narrated by the theologian Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d.c. 199/c.814) indicate several disputations between Ja'far b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣādiq (83-148/702-765) and some Zindīqs (Manichees) and Dualists.[122] They imply that apart from the Mu'tazilites, other groups were also engaged with the problem of the dualists. The official religious policy of the Abbasids encouraged the theologians to dispute with and refute the Manichees. An account given by al-Ya'qūbī indicates that the Caliph al-Mahdī ordered the theologians to write books against Manichaeism and Dualism.[123]

The anti-Manichaean literature which started in the early second century A.H. with the Mu'tazilites' contribution is rather remarkable. The early works have not, unfortunately, survived, their names alone having been recorded by some sources; we know nothing about their contents. An-Nadīm records some works bearing the same title, ar-Radd 'alā z-Zanādiqa, by certain

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118. Ibid., 47-49, 74-75; Nadīm, 204.
119. Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Ḥayawān, IV, 442.
120. Loc. cit.
121. Loc. cit.
122. Al-Kulaynī, al-Kāfī, Uṣūl, I, 72-74, 80-81, 83; aṣ-Ṣadūq, at-Tawḥīd, 133, 243-250, 293-295; at-Ṭabrisī, al-Iḥtijāj, II, 69-74. Cf. al-Majlisī, Biḥār al-Anwār, III, 209-220.
123. Mushākalat an-Nās li-Zamānihim

theologians of the Abbasid period such as Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d. 199?/814?),[124] al-Aṣamm (d. 200/815),[125] Muḥammad b. Layth al-Khaṭīb,[126] Ḍirār b. 'Amr[127] and Ibn ʾar-Rāwandī (d. 245?/859?).[128] Since these works are not extant, the exact significance of the term Zandaqa is unclear, and whether the term is applied to the Manichees or is generally and vaguely used for other heresies and opponents is uncertain. But other lost works written against dualism and the dualists must have examined Manichaeism and refuted it as the dominant dualistic doctrine; treatises such as ar-Radd 'alā Aṣḥāb al-Ithnayn by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam[129] and another with the same title by an-Naẓẓām (d. 221/836),[130] the K. 'alā th-Thanawīyya by Abū l-Hudhayl al-'Allāf (131-226/748-840)[131] and the K. Iqtiṣāṣ Madhāhib Aṣḥāb al-Ithnayn wa-r-Radd 'alayhim by Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq (d. 247/861).[132]

The Mu'tazilite leader, Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā', whose knowledge of Manichaeism and capability in refuting it was much admired,[133] was the author of a refutation of Manichaeism entitled al-Alf Mas'ala. This book was apparently in several volumes, since 'Amr al-Bāhilī who

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124. Nadīm, 224; aṭ-Ṭūsī, al-Fihrist, 205.
125. Nadīm, 214.
126. Nadīm, 134.
127. Ibid., 215.
128. Ibid., 217. An-Nadīm (p.377) also records an anonymous work bearing the same title.
129. Nadīm, 224; aṭ-Ṭūsī, al-Fihrist, 205.
130. Nadīm, 206.
131. Ibid., 204.
132. Ibid., 216.
133. Al-Mahdī lī-Dīn Allāh, Ṭabaqāt al-Mu'tazila, 29-30.

had read the first volume (juz') said there were eighty odd questions in that volume.[134]

According to information given by the later Zaydite writer, al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā (764-840/1362-1436), the Caliph al-Ma'mūn was the author of a refutation of Manichaeism,[135] but there is no reference to such a book in other sources. Nevertheless we know of the fondness of al-Ma'mūn for theological discussion.[136]

The two lost treatises (R. fī r-Radd 'alā l-Manāniyya and R. fī r-Radd 'alā l-Manāniyya fī l-'Ashr al-Masā'il fī Mawḍū'āt al-Falak)[137] against the Manichees by the philosopher al-Kindī (d. after 254/870), might have been presumed to be philosophical refutations,[138] but the assumption can hardly be accepted when one considers al-Kindī's favourable attitude to the Mu'tazilites,[139] which is more likely to have made him compile these

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134. Ibid., 35.
135. Ibid., 123.
136. Ibid., 123; al-Jāhiẓ, al-Ḥayawān, IV, 442.
137. Nadīm, 318.
138. For the early philosophical refutations see above, p.131 n.89 In the late 9th century A.D., the philosopher and physician Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā ar-Rāzī (251-313/865-925), who was familiar with Manichaean literature (see above, p.119), also had a work refuting a certain Manichaean called Sīsin (al-Bīrūnī, ar-Risāla, 18; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā', I, 315). Since no fragment of this lost work has been found, we know nothing about it or the identity of Sīsin. It is presumed that Sīsin was the same as Sīs (Sisinnios) the successor of Mani (H. Taqīzāda, Mānī wa dīn-i ū, 210, n.4), but Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, who had probably seen it, tells us that it was a record of a disputation between ar-Rāzī and Sīsin, the Manichaean, in seven chapters.
139. M. Watt, The Formative Period, 207.

treatises and also R. fī r-Radd 'alā ath-Thanawiyya[140] in order to defend the monotheistic doctrine from a theological rather than philosophical point of view.

One of the earliest refutations to have survived is K. ar-Radd 'alā z-Zindīq al-La'īn Ibn al-Muqaffa' by the Zaydite Imām, al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (169-246/785-860), one of the famous apologists who had promised to write a refutation against Mani;[141] we do not, however, know whether it was compiled or not. When al-Qāsim read the book of Ibn al-Muqaffa' attacking the Islamic concept of God and prophecy,[142] he decided to refute it. In his refutation in rhymed prose, al-Qāsim attacks the Manichaean idea of the Two Principals and defends the Islamic faith by emphasising the concept of Unity and condemning anthropomorphism.[143] Like most of the Medieval refutations, al-Qāsim's attacks tend sometimes to be very severe, and he denounces Ibn al-Muqaffa' as ignorant and mad and considers his words hallucination.[144] Even the language of Ibn al-Muqaffa' and his knowledge of Arabic came under attack, and he is accused of ignorance of the Qur'ān,[145] and his book is termed 'a'jamī al-bayān'.[146]

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140. Nadīm, 318.
141. K. ar-Radd 'alā z-Zindīq al-La'īn Ibn al-Muqaffa', 8.
142. See above, p.
143. For the similarity between al-Qāsim's teaching and that of the Mu'tazilites cf. M. Watt, op. cit., 164.
144. Al-Qāsim, op. cit., 11, 15, 17, 28, 33, 37, 39, 51.
145. Ibid., 10, 19, 31, 43.
146. Ibid., 8.

Apart from the treatise of al-Qāsim, no individual anti-Manichaean work has survived, but the problem of Manichaeism was discussed and refuted in apologetic and polemic works by the Muslim theologians of the early Abbasid era. Among Shi'ite works the K. at-Tawḥīd, known as Tawḥīd al-Mufaḍḍal, which is claimed to have been dictated by Ja'far b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣādiq (80-148/699-765) to his disciple al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fī (d. 145/765),[147] contains passages which refute Manichaean ideas about dualism, evil, disaster and disease.[148] If the authenticity of the work is accepted, it would be the earliest extant anti-Manichaean text, but its attribution to Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq and even al-Mufaḍḍal himself is highly improbable, though aṣ-Ṣādiq himself had, undoubtedly, some disputations with the Dualists and the Manichees, some of which have been recorded in the Hadith collections.[149]

The attempt to refute Manichaean ideas was carried on even up to the 5th/11th century by theologians, many of whose works contain a chapter or passages on Dualism and Manichaeism.[150] One should bear in mind that the

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147. Cf. aṭ-Ṭūsī, al-Fihrist, 197.
148. Tawḥīd al-Mufaḍḍal (Najaf, 1949), 21, 23, 33-34, 82, 89-90.

149. See above, p. 138.
150. Being outside the period of our research, we will not discuss these later refutations; however it would probably be useful just to mention some major works such as: al-Khayyāṭ (d. after 300/912), al-Intiṣār (Cairo, 1925), 30-34, 37-40, 43-45, 48-49; aṣ-Ṣadūq (d. 381/991), at-Tawhid (Tehran, 1387 A.H.), 243-270; al-Bāqillānī, (d. 403/1013), at-Tamhīd (Cairo, 1974), 68-75.

Manichaean community had survived in Iraq until the late 4th/10th century,[151] and they still posed a danger to the Islamic faith, so that to refute them remained a requisite for Muslim apologists.

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151. An-Nadīm (p. 401, Eng. tr. 803) says:
"I used to know about three hundred Manichees in Baghdad during the reign of Mu'izz ad-Dawla (334-356/945-967, but at this time /i.e. the time of compiling al-Fihrist, c. 377/987/ there are not five of them in the capital."

III. ZANDAQA AND LICENTIOUSNESS

ZANDAQA AND LICENTIOUSNESS

The term Zandaqa has been also associated with licentiousness (mujūn) in its broadest sense. Many so-called Zindīqs cannot be strictly categorized as Manichees, agnostics or political opponents, but seem to have acquired the title merely through licentiousness.

Although this semantic extension of the word Zindīq must have taken place later than its primary application to Manichees, nevertheless the process cannot have taken place later than the mid-second century A.H. as can be seen from accounts like that of Abū Nuwās who tells us that when Ḥammād ʿAjrad was imprisoned he had presumed that he had been charged with Zandaqa for his licentious poetry.[1]

As far as the present writer has been able to discover there is no evidence from the late Umayyad period which suggests that this application was current then. There are certain individuals from late Umayyad times who were accused of Zandaqa in our sources and whose Zandaqa was mere licentiousness, but the accusations seem more likely to have been levelled against them by later authors rather than by the contemporaries of those so-called Zindīqs.[2]

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1. Aghānī (D), X, 324; cf. below, p. 238.
2. Cf. the case of ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, the profligate tutor and intimate of al-Walīd b. Yazīd (88-126/707-744), whose being accused of Zandaqa is mentioned in Aghānī (B), II, 78; VI, 102; VII, 165.

The employment of the term Zindīq, which was originally applied to ascetic Manichees, for the antonymous concept of the profligate was due to several factors. Immorality and depravity were generally among the charges made against alien heretic sects by their opponents. The Manichees were not excepted and, despite their piety and the ascetic nature of their religion, were subjected to accusations of this nature by both Christians[3] and Muslims. Al-Bīrūnī refers to the charge of homosexuality levelled against the Manichees, which may have been a result of their refusal to marry and their practice of travelling (siyāḥa) together.[4]

On the other hand, the application of the term Zindīq to the Dahriyya probably helped the employment of the word to mean 'licentious', since the latter by restricting the whole of human life to this world were led swiftly to a hedonistic morality. A Dahrī, as described by al-Jāḥiẓ,"denies the Lord, creation, reward and punishment, all religion and all law, listens only to his own desires and sees evil only in what conflicts with them; he recognizes no difference between man, the domestic animal and the wild beast.

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3. In Christendom the various Gnostic-Dualist heretics who were all regarded as Manichees, were also accused of sexual immorality; see S. Runciman, The Medieval Manichees, 175-177; R.I. Moore, The Birth of Popular Heresy, 4, 9, 10, 28.
4. Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya, 208.

For him it is a question only of pleasure or pain, good is merely what serves his interests, even though it may cost the lives of a thousand men."[5]

It should be also taken into consideration that in eighth century Iraq licentiousness was quite commonplace, as will be shown in this chapter, and that on the other hand Manichaeism, among other intellectual trends, had a certain attraction. In this circle there were some profligate poets and writers who by their attraction towards certain aspects of Manichaeism managed to link Manichaeism (Zandaqa) and licentiousness. In order to have a more lucid picture, it is necessary to review the growth of licentiousness and debauchery in early Abbasid society especially in the literary milieu.

Although licentiousness was widespread in the Abbasid epoch, its roots can be found in the earlier period. Before the Ummayads, we rarely come across cases such as that of al-Walīd b. 'Uqba, the governor of Kufa during 'Uthmān's caliphate, whose casual attitude to the Sharī'a and intemperance in drinking wine and enjoying music caused his dismissal.[6] By the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty, profligacy had established itself within the caliphal palace. Yazīd I (60-64/679-683) was the first caliph to introduce

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5. I. Goldziher, 'Dahriyya', EI^2, II, 95; al-Ḥayawān, VII, 5-6.
6. Ṭabarī, I, 2843-2849; al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, II, 334, 336.

amusements, to gather singers and musicians and to drink wine openly.[7] Another notorious member of the Umayyad dynasty was Walīd II (125-126/743-744), about whom many accounts can be found in our sources,[8] some of which are so outrageous as to have, presumably, have been fabricated by his enemies.

Not only in the Umayyad capital, Damascus, but also in the large cities, such as Basra and Kūfa, facilities for entertainment on a small scale could be found. These cities had recently become political centres which served as the focal point for the various cultures prevalent at that period, and had, in addition, become wealthy. However, there developed within them a cult of hedonism, while at the same time many of their citizens were attracted to the path of asceticism as a reaction.

With the rise of the Abbasids and the foundation of Baghdad there came a period of peace and prosperity, which witnessed the establishment in Mesopotamia of places of enjoyment where were gathered some of the more prosperous elements of society, among whom we may include many poets. The panegyrists, in particular, enjoyed a life of luxury afforded by the patronage of the caliphs, viziers and governors.[9] The sums of money

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7. Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, III, 67; Aghānī (D), XVI, 68; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd, VIII, 63.
8. Cf. Ṭabarī, II, 1740 sqq.; Aghānī (D), VII, 1-83; pseudo-al-Jāḥiẓ, at-Tāj, 152.
9. Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān, III, 115; Aghānī, XXI, 73.

given as rewards for the composition of praise poetry were usually very high and occasionally fabulous;[10] these they spent in drinking and dissipation in various places such as the buyūt al-qiyān, taverns and inns.

The buyūt al-qiyān (the houses of singing slave-girls) served not only as slave-markets, but were centres of education for slave-girls, who were taught the arts of singing, music and poetry and trained in their duties. Those who became proficient acquired a wide knowledge of literature and music and were capable of narrating thousands of songs and poems.[11] Some, indeed, were good poets themselves and participated in literary gatherings, competing with the famous poets of the day.[12] In his biography of poets, Ibn al-Mu'tazz has devoted a chapter to the slave-girls,[13] and their excellence is attested in many other literary sources.[14] These buyūt al-qiyān became centres of entertainment and wantonness,[15] and rendezvous for the poets and musicians as well as the many wealthy and licentious

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10. Cf. al-Jāḥiẓ, op. cit., I, 54; al-Jahshiyārī, 211, 215; Dīwān Bashshār, I, 323; Dīwān Abī Nuwās (W), I, 110; Aghānī (D), III, 37, 40; Ibn Rashīq, al-'Umda, 185.
11. Al-Jāḥiẓ, 'K. al-Qiyān', Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ, II, 176.
12. Cf. Dīwān Abī Nuwās (W), I, 80-87.
13. Ṭabaqāt ash-Shu'arā', 421 sqq.
14. Dīwān Abī Nuwās (W), I, 79-92; Aghānī, XXI, 141.
15. Cf. the poem of al-Qarāṭīsī, who was a muqayyin, about his house (Dīwān Abī Nuwās (W), I, 63-64; Aghānī (B), XX 88-89), and Abū l-'Atāhiya's poem about him (Aghānī (B), XX, 88); also Ḥammād 'Ajrad's satire about Abū 'Awn (Aghānī (B), XIV, 343-344).

people who enjoyed their company. The Houses of Ruzayq b. Munaḥ,[16] Abū l-Iṣba‘,[17] al-Qarāṭīsī,[18] Muḥammad b. Sayyār,[19] al-Jundīsābūrī,[20] Abū l-Khayr,[21] Abū ‘Awn,[22] al-Junayd an-Nakhkhās[23] and Ibn Rāmīn were the most famous, the last of which attracted to Kūfa artists from afar.[24]

In Iraq, mainly around Baghdād, Basra and Kufa, there could be found many taverns, mention of which is made in the poetry of the time. The taverns of Ḥīra, and Kūfa, Quṭrubbil / Ṭayzanābād were the most famous in the late Umayyad and Abbasid periods. These taverns, some of which were quite large and similar to inns, had servants, cupbearers, and occasionally players and singers,[25] who sometimes became the object of the poets' love. The taverns were generally run by Jews,[26] Christians[27] and Zoroastrians[28] (some of whom having converted to Islam continued in their chosen profession),[29]

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16. Aghānī (B), XII, 128.
17. Ibid., XII, 105; ash-Shābushtī, Dīyārāt, 164-165.
18. Aghānī (B), XX, 88.
19. Ibn Manẓūr, Akhbār Abī Nuwās, I, 7.
20. Abū Hiffān, Akhbār Abī Nuwās, 28.
21. Ibid., 88-89.
22. Aghānī (D), XIV, 342-343.
23. Ibid., X, 270.
24. Ibid., XII, 129, 131-134.
25. Cf. Ibn al-Kharrāz' poem: Dīwān Abī Nuwās (W), I, 64-65.
26. Dīwān Abī Nuwās (G), 54, 61, 86.
27. Ibid., 38, 208.
28. Ibid., 131, 693.
29. Ash-Shābushtī, op. cit., 33; Aghānī, XIII, 23.

and being situated at the edges of cities were usually connived at by the shurṭa and muḥtasibs.

Other places of entertainment and wine-drinking, mentioned by the poets, were the monasteries, many of which had been built in Mesopotamia, located in verdurous places surrounded by orchards and vineyards, which were cultivated by the monks and acolytes. It is not only the wayfarer who received hospitality therein, but also the mujjān, who found them convenient places for drinking and enjoyment.[30] On occasion caliphs and court officials, too, would set aside the affairs of state, to enjoy the pleasures afforded by the monasteries.[31]

The Christian liturgical calendar would mark the occasion of these visits, some lasting for several days, the feasts of Christmas, Epiphany (ʻĪd al-Ghiṭās), Palm Sunday (ʻĪd ash-Shaʻānīn) and Easter, being common to all, while some, such as ʻĪd Dayr Ushmūnī,[32] ʻĪd Dayr ath-Thaʻālib,[33] ʻĪd Dayr Durmālīs[34] and ʻĪd aṣ-Ṣalīb,[35] were particular to certain only of them.

Under these circumstances wine-poetry became very widespread in poetic milieux. In the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods some poets described wine among

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30. Ibid., 3-4, 16, 18, 21-22, 30, 35, 41, 45, 52-53, 60-61, 116-117, 112, 127, 159.
31. Ibid., 71, 104-105, 112, 113, 144-145, 153.
32. Ibid., 30, 227. Cf. Bīrūnī, al-Āthār al-Bāqiya, 310.
33. Ash-Shābushtī, op. cit., 16.
34. Ibid., 3.
35. Ibid., 171.

their odes in the nasīb, but the Bacchic poem (Khamriyya) was not an independent form, being only part of the exordium.[36] In the late Umayyad period, poets such as al-Walīd b. Yazīd, Abū l-Hindī, 'Ammār Dhū Kinār (or Kubār) and al-Uqayshir were the pioneers of Bacchism, and were to have an influence on later poets.[37] Al-Uqayshir who is, apparently, one of the earlier poets to be described as a mājin and a khalī',[38] is a good example of the Bacchic poets of the beginning of the libertine school of Kufa, which is considered the first centre of licentiousness for various socio-cultural reasons.[39] With the increasing contribution of the licentious poets, wine-poetry matured and eventually, in the second century, reached its peak in Abū Nuwās' work.[40]

The mujjān not only talked openly of wine and drinking, but also composed odes on homosexual and erotic themes, introducing yet another dimension to Arabic literature. The famous mājin, Abū Nuwās, is quoted as having claimed that it was his generation that introduced mujūn to poetry, and in this context he defined mujūn as the description of wine, taverns and homosexuality.[41]

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36. J. Bencheikh, 'Khamriyya' EI^2 III, 998
37. For influences of Abū l-Hindī and Walīd b. Yazīd on Abū Nuwās see Aghānī, VI, 107; XXI, 178.
38. Aghānī, X, 89.
39. Bencheikh, op. cit., 1003.
40. For further information about the Khamriyya see Jamīl Sa'īd, Taṭawwur al-Khamriyyāt.
41. Dīwān Abī Nuwās, Ms. Fātiḥ, n. 3775, f.2b.

In pre-Abbasid poetry there is no trace of the homosexual theme,[42] all lyrical odes being dedicated to female beauties. Al-Jāḥiẓ, who examined this movement in Arabic love-poetry attempting to account for the introduction and establishment of homosexual themes, attributed them to the rise of the Abbasid dynasty and the domination of the Khurāsānī troops, whence the Arabs were introduced to a notion of romanticism not exclusively heterosexual. Thereafter Arabs, too, began to dedicate their love-poems to youths. The factor which led the Persians to seek romance among their own sex was identified by al-Jāḥiẓ as the practice of the Khurāsānī army of going on campaign without their families. Unlike the Umayyad army, which would march with a retinue of women and slave girls, the Khurāsānīs had been forbidden this luxury by Abū Muslim.[43] Al-Jāḥiẓ therefore presumed that in order to compensate for the lack of female company, the Khurāsānī army had taken to seeking catamites as companions. This reputation must have had some currency, for Yūsuf b. aṣ-Ṣayqal mentioned it in one of his poems.[44]

This theory was to be repeated among the classical authorities[45] and, somewhat surprisingly, is still held

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42. Cf. al-Jāḥiẓ, Mufākharat al-Jawārī wa-l-Ghilmān, Rasā'il, II, 115-116.
43. Quoted from Kitāb al-Mu'allimīn of al-Jāḥiẓ by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, Dīwān Abī Nuwās, Ms. Fatiḥ, n. 3775, f. 112a.
44. Aghānī (B), XX, 95.
45. Ath-Tha'ālibī, Thimār al-Qulūb, 439-440.

by some contemporary literary critics.[46] One should, however, regard homosexuality, viewed as a genre of hedonism, as the product of a developed society, which could only be alien to the harsh environment of the desert, whence had emerged the heterosexual poetry of the pre-Islamic Arab. Indeed this point was accepted even by al-Jāḥiẓ, and may have had some currency in his own time. He observes: "The pre-Islamic poets were boorish, harsh bedouins who knew nothing of the delicate life and pleasures of the world ..... had they seen the beauty, charm and attraction of the youths of our time, they surely would have abandoned women about whom they wrote love-poems."[47]

Undoubtedly, the huge wealth centred in Iraq created an opulent and sumptuous life for some classes. This, combined with cultural intermixing of new intellectual trends, changed many social values and religious attitudes during the mid-eighth century. In a society where restraint was not a common virtue and where there existed a demand for various sensual pleasures, it was inevitable that some of its members would be attracted to homosexuality,

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46. E.g. ʿU. Farrūkh, Abū Nūwās, 53; M.B. Sharīf, aṣ-Ṣirāʿ bayn al-Mawālī wa-l-ʿArab, 94.
47. Al-Jāḥiẓ, Mufākhara, Rasāʾil, II, 105, 106. Cf. the story quoted in al-ʿIqd al-Farīd (II, 340)that Khālid al-Qasrī was blaming the bedouins in a sermon counting their disgraces when a bedouin, protesting against him, said, "The behaviour of you, the people of cities, is worse and you have many blemishes, one of which is homosexuality."

especially in an environment which maintained a large number of slave-boys. Undoubtedly, this kind of hédonistic enjoyment was mainly restricted to the ruling classes, the rich and those on the periphery of these social circles, the latter being represented by poets, secretaries and musicians. A poet would take pride in sodomy, holding it to be behaviour appropriate to the noble and the wealthy.[48] Apart from the licentious poets, kātibs also had a reputation for having homosexual tendencies.[49]

As has been noted, many of the slave-boys (ghilmān) served as sakis and played companion to the customers not only in the buyūt al-qiyān, but also in the taverns. A vast quantity of the love-poems of this period are about these slave-boys who worked in taverns and inns. Besides these boys, there were also some slave-girls in male dress, called ghulāmiyya, who served, or played and sang in taverns and the centres[50] of amusement and even at the courts of which al-Amīn's was particularly famous.[51]

The love-poem addressed to a boy, like the wine-poem, was a new phenomenon which had its origins among the licentious poets who had defiantly composed explicit love-poems leaving the traditional Arabic images and following a new mode. In this field also, Abū Nuwās is the most famous and outstanding, but he is not the

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48. Al-Jāḥiẓ, op. cit., 112.
49. Ibid., 112; Aghānī (B), XX, 49.
50. Abū Hiffān, 29-31. Dīwān Abī Nuwās, 568.
51. Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, IV, 226.

first. Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb, described as a poet of wine and youth,[52] was probably the pioneer,[53] and he was to exert a great influence on Abū Nuwās,[54] whose early youth was spent in his company.[55] The other poets of this group (the mujjān) such as Ḥammād 'Ajrad,[56] Muṭī' b. Iyās,[57] Sa'īd b. Wahb,[58] Yūsuf b. al-Ḥajjāj,[59] Abān al-Lāḥiqī[60] and Ḥusayn b. aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk,[61] most of whom were accused of Zandaqa as well, also have many poems devoted to boys.

These poems vary: one mode can be described as the modest love-poem. They portray male beauties, complaining of the beloved's unkindness and bemoaning separation from him. Although this type is used mainly in the form of ghazal or muqaṭṭa'a, some poets found it a suitable mode for the exordium to the panegyrical qaṣīda, replacing the traditional nasīb. However it did not become common, in part due to the Caliph ar-Rashīd, who had prohibited the recitation in his presence of any poem dealing with obscene subjects.[62] The most tolerant

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52. Aghānī (B), XVI, 148.
53. For his see Aghānī (B), XVI, 151; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭabaqāt, 88; al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān, III, 220.
54. Ibn al-Mu'tazz, 88.
55. Ibn Manẓūr, Akhbār Abī Nuwās, I, 7-12.
56. Aghānī (B), XIII, 95.
57. Ibid., XII, 81, 82.
58. Ibid., XXI, 69; al-Khaṭīb, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, IX, 73.
59. Al-Jaḥiz, Mufākharat Rasā'il, II, 112. Aghānī (B), XX, 94-5.
60. Aghānī (B), XX, 75.
61. Ibid., VI, 170 seq.
62. Dīwān Abī Nuwās (W), I, 120-121.

caliph was al-Amīn, for whom Abū Nuwās wrote many praise poems, some of them with a male-oriented nasīb.[63]

The second mode is the erotic poem which describes physical love, scenes of sensuality and orgy. There being no formal and traditional limitation, the poets freely expressed their feelings and frankly employed any word or phrase, be it even blasphemous. Consequently an increasing frequency of simple vocabulary, together with a corresponding use of shorter metres, tended to supersede the more complex forms previously in vogue.

Although these poets were engendered by this society, they were also to exert a great influence on it. Bashshār, whose poems were very popular, is held to have been responsible for adversely influencing Basran society, so that the women and youth of Basra were corrupted and led astray by his verses. A contemporary theologian, Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā', commented thus on his works: "One of Satan's most powerful snares of deception are the words of this blind unbeliever."[64] In order to protect the morals and welfare of the Basrans, the Caliph al-Mahdī issued an injunction banning Bashshār from composing love-poems (naṣīb).[65] Similarly, Abū Nuwās was held to be corrupt, and consequently some contemporary puritans avoided occasions where they might be exposed to

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63. Ibid., I, 131, 133.
64. Aghānī (D), III, 182.
65. Aghānī (D), III, 182; also cf. pp. 212, 221, 222, 234, 239, 240-241; Dīwān Bashshār, II, 25-26, 97, 107.

recitations from his works.[66]

It should be noted that mujūn, in itself, was not considered an offence, and furthermore, that although these phenomena are connected and somewhat similar, a distinction was drawn between Zandaqa and the blasphemy which was an extreme form of mujūn.

Thus there were some who avoided the serious charge of Zandaqa by pleading mere mujūn. One of these is Ādam b. 'Abd al-'Azīz who, despite his descent from an Umayyad caliph, was allowed his freedom by as-Saffāḥ, for his activities were confined to poetry, his conduct being otherwise apolitical. When the Caliph al-Mahdī heard a verse of his, in which he had censured those who condemned drink while firm in their belief in the quality of the wine of paradise, he summoned him and interrogated him as to whether he was a Zindīq or not. It is reported that he was whipped with 300 lashes, in order to force him to confess to being a Zindīq, but that he denied the charge by suggesting that it was not possible for a Qurashī to be a Zindīq, and that he had rather composed such verses under the influence of mujūn.[67]

As has already been stated briefly, hedonism and debauchery were widespread in Iraq. In addition to this, the cult of the licentious poets and its ties with the caliphal and minor courts suggest that the

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66. Dīwān Abī Nuwās (W), I, 21.
67. Aghānī (B), XIV, 60-61.

authorities connived at their behaviour and tolerated them. Many of the debauchee poets were very close to the caliph and his governors, and quite apart from obtaining their patronage by writing panegyric odes, some of them were to become boon companion (nadīm) of the caliph and were employed as tutor to the princes. Ḥammād 'Ajrad was the nadīm of the amīr Muḥammad b. Abī l-'Abbās,[68] Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb was al-Mahdī's nadīm[69] and Ḥusayn al-Khalī' al-Amīn's boon companion.[70] The stories surrounding the relationship of Abū Nuwās with Hārūn ar-Rashīd and his son al-Amīn are famous, for he was not only the intimate friend of al-Amīn,[71] but his tutor as well.[72] We can therefore assume that licentiousness itself in a poet was not adequate grounds to have him cast in the role of a Zindīq, either in the eyes of the caliph or the authorities, or in the view of the common people. It was blasphemy, the denial of fundamental principles of religion and the mocking of religious values that created such a notorious reputation for some poets, not the poetry of eroticism and wine by itself. The recitation of erotic verses, containing even the most indecent of words and imagery, was commonplace at the caliphal court. Other evidence

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68. Ibid., XIII, 73, 96.
69. Jahshiyārī, al-Wuzarā' wa-l-Kuttāb, 149.
70. Diyārāt, 35-36.
71. Ibn Manẓūr, 147, 215-217.
72. Ibid., 230.

which supports this idea is the existence of many licentious poets who were never accused of Zandaqa, poets such as Ḥamza b. Bayḍ, Abū ash-Shayṣ, Abū n-Naḍīr, Abū l-Hindī, al-Uqayshir, Aḥmad b. Isḥāq al-Khārakī and Ḥusayn b. aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk .

One may postulate that the concepts of mujūn and Zandaqa are distinct from each other although in some areas they share features in common. There were, for example, some Zindīqs (in the strict meaning of Manichaean or agnostic or freethinker) who were mājin as well, while, on the other hand, there were a group of mājin poets who, despite their adherence to Islam, sometimes, in certain circumstances, would compose verses which conflicted with prevalent religious values, and when called to account would exonerate themselves by claiming their motives to have stemmed from mujūn. Mujūn, or extreme mujūn (al-Ifrāṭ fī l-mujūn) as it has been termed by some,[73] did serve to excuse them, but led at the same time to the blurring of the distinction between these two groups.

Licentiousness itself, as long as it did not intrude into religious matters, was tolerated and was not termed Zandaqa, and those mājins who were labelled Zindīqs were so termed not for their loose living or debauchery, but on account of the fact that they had denied beliefs basic to Islam. When Abū Nuwās presumed

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73. Marzubānī, al-Muwashshaḥ, 429; Abū Hiffān, 46; Ibn Manẓur, Akhbār Abī Nuwās, I, 228.

Ḥammad 'Ajrad to have been imprisoned as a Zindīq for writing licentious poetry (li mujūnih fī shi'rih), he, apparently, intended not the simple licentiousness of the ordinary mājin but rather the extreme mujūn which seemed to be in apparent violation of the fundamentals of religion. There is an account recording a dialogue between al-Mahdī, ar-Rabī' and Sharīk al-Qāḍī, in which the caliph asked Sharīk what were the characteristics of Zandaqa, and received the reply "drinking wine, bribery and prostitution."[74] This account can hardly be taken as evidence for the application of the term Zandaqa, since the context of this definition is a struggle between two rivals for power in the caliphal court, Sharīk al-Qāḍī and ar-Rabī', the Chamberlain. In ascribing the characteristics of licentiousness to the far more serious matter of Zandaqa, Sharīk may well have been implying that his rival's misdemeanours were grounds for arrest and imprisonment.

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74. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd, I, 248. This account is recorded in at-Tanūkhī, al-Faraj ba'd ash-Shidda,(IV, 87) in which the word 'fāsiq' occurs instead of 'zindīq'.

IV. ZANDAQA AND SHU'ŪBIYYA

Zandaqa and Shu'ūbiyya

Some historians have suggested that there may be a connection between the Shu'ūbiyya and Zandaqa, two movements current in the second and third centuries of Islam. Certain similarities between these movements have led some historians to accept the existence of connections, without, however, going into a careful discussion of the issue. The study of Ignaz Goldziher on the Shu'ūbiyya,[1] which is still regarded as one of the most scholarly works on the subject, draws a relationship of the two movements and states briefly: "The followers of the Shu'ūbiyya were for the most part people who were suspect from the religious point of view, being so-called Zindīq."[2] In his article on the Shu'ūbiyya, the late H.A.R. Gibb also accepted the link between the two and suggested that the danger of the Shu'ūbiyya movement lay more in its Zandaqa than in its anti-Arab propaganda.[3]

The extent of this relationship and the question of whether a person was ever accused of being a Zindīq because of his Shu'ūbī tendencies remains unresolved, and should be discussed by examining the religious dimension of Shu'ūbism and studying some individual cases.

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1. Muslim Studies, I, 147-198.
2. Ibid., I, 148. Cf. id., 'Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Ḳūddus', Trans. IX Inter. Congress of Orientalists, p. 105.
3. Studies on the Civilization of Islam, 69.

As a cultural trend,[4] the Shu'ūbiyya, in both its moderate and its extreme forms, never claimed to promote a particular religious message, and the Shu'ūbīs themselves belonged to various schools of belief. Within this spectrum of religious belief there were Shu'ūbis who, on one hand, were devoted Muslims such as Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā (114-126/732-825) the philologist and genealogist, and author of works on the Koran and Ḥadīth,[5] while, on the other hand, there were free-thinkers, libertines and unbelievers. Therefore having no single religious or political characteristic with which it was identified, Shu'ūbism was never officially condemned and we have no record of any person being persecuted on a charge of Shu'ūbism, as was the case with some heterodox sects and political groupings. However, the enemies of

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4. There is no doubt that the ideas of the Shu'ūbiyya had adherents among the common people as well, but the view of Ibn Qutayba who attributed it exclusively to the rabble cannot be unquestioningly accepted. See Ibn Qutayba, 'K. al-'Arab', Rasā'il al-Bulaghā' 345; cf. A. Amīn, Ḍuḥā al-Islām, I, 62-63.

5. Nadīm, 59. Abū 'Ubayda, according to the sources was an adherent of the Ibāḍī Kharijites (Nadīm, 59; Yāqūt, Udabā', VII, 165). Revising the established view of Abū 'Ubayda's attachment to the Shu'ūbiyya (cf. I. Goldziher, Muslim Studies, I, 179 seq.), H. Gibb assumed that he had probably been a Shu'ūbī in the Kharijite sense (H. Gibb, op. cit., 67-69).

the Shu'ūbiyya were quick to seize on instances of Shu'ūbis criticising Islam and to generalise these instances in order to accuse all of them of lacking genuine belief and of attempting to undermine Islam.

Some of the partisans of the Arabs argued that the Shu'ūbiyya had a deep-rooted antagonism towards Islam, on account of their defeat at the hands of the Arabs, who had introduced them to the faith, and that conversely they hated Arabs because they hated Islam. It was further argued that the ideas of the Shu'ūbiyya could lead to apostasy and irreligion. This argument, which probably gained currency in Arabophile circles, was reflected in the works of al-Jāḥiẓ[6] and some later writers.[7] The

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6. Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Ḥayawān, VII, 220. Idem, al-Bukhalā', 228. It is worthy of mention here that apart from the passages of al-Ḥayawān, al-Bukhalā', al-Bayān and al-Maḥāsin in which the Shu'ūbiyya have been condemned, in his treatise 'Manāqib at-Turk', al-Jāḥiẓ praises the Turks, the dominant group in the reign of al-Mu'taṣim. Although in the latter work al-Jāḥiẓ mentions that he writes about the manāqib of the Turks without mentioning the mathālib of the others (Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ, 17, 22), some doubts about his genuineness as a partisan of the Arabs remains. Also a statement by al-Mas'ūdī claims that al-Jāḥiẓ along with some other Mu'tazilites such as Ḍirār and Thumāma believed that the Nabateans were superior to the Arabs (Murūj, II, 26-27). The issue has been discussed by I. Goldziher, Muslim Studies, I, 145-146 and A. Amīn, Ḍuḥā al-Islām, I, 60.

7. Interestingly enough, the same argument has been used against the Shiites and other heresies by Ibn Ḥazm, the heresiographer (al-Faṣl fī-l-Milal, II, 511).

argument is based on the supposed essential connection between Islam and Arabs which has always been always denied by the Shu'ūbis, who regarded Islam as a universal mission to man irrespective of any race and colour.[8] This idea was the early and dominant trend in the Shu'ūbi movement, but due to its heterogeneity in religo-political terms, the Shu'ūbiyya appears to have been very varied in respect of belief. As a contemporary intellectual movement, Zandaqa attracted some of the Shu'ūbīs who in general belonged to the literati and secretarial classes. This attraction could hardly have had any nationalistic basis, because 'Zandaqa' in the sense of Manichaeism had nothing to do with nationality,[9] and Manichaeism as an universal religion did not have any exclusive tie with Persia. The only religion which

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8. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, II, 254, 256.

In respect of equality before God, Dīk al-Jinn (d. 235/849), the Syrian Shu'ūbī poet, is noteworthy. He says:

> 'The Arabs have no precedence over us, since our descent is united in Abraham, we have become Muslims like them; if one of them kills one of us he is punished with death, and God has never announced that they are preferred to us.'

(Aghānī, XII, 142. Goldziher, Muslim Studies, I, 144.)

9. A.A. Bevan, 'Manichaeism', ERE, VII, 401b.

could attract Persian Shu'ūbīs on the basis of nationalism was Zoroastrianism. In fact, some of the extremist Shu'ūbīs were fanatically attached to Zoroastrianism, looking on it as a national religion.[10] It was probably just the intellectual dimension of Manichaeism which attracted some of the intelligensia, among them being Persians, some of whom were Shu'ūbīs. If by 'Zandaqa' some meaning other than Manichaeism is meant, then there can be no specific link with national feeling. Thus, there is no direct connection between Shu'ūbism and Zandaqa, and many of the prominent Shu'ūbīs such as Sahl b. Hārūn, Haytham b. 'Adī, Abū 'Ubayda, Isḥāq b. Salama, 'Allān ash-Shu'ūbī and Sa'īd b. Ḥumayd, were not accused of Zandaqa. Therefore, the accusation of Zandaqa in the case of Muḥammad b. Layth (2nd/8th cent.) the orator and theologian, cannot be attributed to his Shu'ūbī ideas, as I. Goldziher presumed.[11] Despite the charge of Zandaqa levelled against him, he is the author

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10. A good example of this, although from a later period, is Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, known as Dandān, the secretary of Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Dulaf, the governor of Karaj (d. 280/893). He was extremely anti-Islam and anti-Arab, and longed for the fall of Arab rule and the rise of the Persian Kingdom once again (Nadīm, 240).

11. Muslim Studies, I, 149.

of a refutation of Zandaqa (K. ar-Radd ʿalā-z-Zanādiqa), concerning which we have no information.[12]

Of the Shuʿūbī poets of the second century A.H., only a few were known to be Zindīq. Bashshār b. Burd (d. 167/784) is a prominent figure, whose Shuʿūbī-orientated poems are as famous as his Zandaqa. His boastful poems in praise of the Persians along with his caustic invective against the Arabs gives him a special status among the Shuʿūbī poets. Originally from Ṭukhāristān and the son of a bricklayer and mawlā of the ʿUqayl, Bashshār proudly claimed to be a Persian noble and of the 'Quraysh al-ʿAjam',[13] and further boasts that Kisrā and Sāsān were his ancestors and Caesar was his maternal uncle.[14] A fabricated genealogy also affiliates

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12. Nadīm, 134. The authorship of this work should not allow us to doubt the Zandaqa of Muḥammad b. Layth. He could be considered a reconverted Zindīq who refuted his former beliefs. There are similar cases of refutations of Zandaqa and Dualism written by Ibn ar-Rāwandī and al-Warrāq who had been known as Zindīqs (Nadīm, 216-217). It is, therefore, to be assumed that Ibn al-Layth had been attached to Manichaeism before writing his refutation.

13. Aghānī, III, 138; cf. Goldziher, Muslim Studies, I, 150, n.1.

14. Dīwān, I, 377. It seems that such a claim was common among some Shuʿūbīs, since Jaḥẓa, the poet said:
'If all the peasants claim to trace their

him to the ancient royal family of Persia.[15] These boastful poems and certain recorded anecdotes concerning his nobility,[16] might have been "a good means of turning his detractors, attention away from his humble origin."[17] This false pride, mixed with his Shu'ūbī leanings, are reflected in some of his poems, in which he glorifies Ancient Persia and insults the pre-Islamic Arabs.[18] But he differentiates between what is Islamic and what is Arab, and never criticizes Islam or anyone from the House of the Prophet or even the Abbasids.[19]

He was a mawlā of the 'Uqayl, but, as Ibn Nubāta pointed out, he had been unsteady in his walā'.[20] He even wrote that his mawlā was God the Glorious who was more eminent than the Tamīm and Quraysh.[21] Among his epigrams,

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origin to Kisrā, then where are the Nabateans?'

(A. Amīn, Ḍuḥā al-Islām, I, 40 quoted from Rāghib, Muḥāḍarat, II, 223).

15. Dīwān, I, 101; Aghānī, III, 135.

16. Dīwān, I, 377-380; III, 229; IV, 115, 156-161. Aghānī, III, 33, 138, 203, 229. Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān, I, 53.

17. R. Blachère, 'Bashshār b. Burd', EI^2, I, 1080a.

18. Dīwān, I, 377-380; III, 229. Aghānī, III, 33.

19. Cf. his celebrated qaṣīda: Dīwān, I, 379-380, verses 27-31.

20. Sarḥ al-'Uyūn, 299.

21. Dīwān, IV, 62; Aghānī, III, 21.

there are some satires against the Arab tribes, which are probably more reflections of the tribal rivalry of his time than of any Arabophobic tendency. This group of epigrams, being composed on account of political or personal motivation,[22] cannot be taken as evidence for his Shu'ūbism, unlike the former kind in which the glory of Persian culture and its superiority to the Arab was illustrated.[23]

Shu'ūbism in the case of Bashshār is mainly culturally orientated, in that he shows the superiority of Persian customs and manners when compared to those of the barbaric Arabs; here he refers to the glorious past, a common theme of Shu'ūbī literature.[24] However, he neither regards

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22. It is said that he praised some tribes, such as Qays and Muḍar, to please the ruling tribes. Cf. S. Ḍayf, Ta'rīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, III, 214.

23. Ironically, in a satire against Sībawayh, who criticized Bashshār for a certain grammatical mistake, Bashshār contemptuously addresses him "O son of the Persianess." (yā Ibn al-Fārisiyya) (Aghānī, III, 54; al-Marzubānī, al-Muwashshaḥ, 385) implying that he is disqualified from judging Arabic because of his Persian origin.

24. Cf. the poems of Ismā'īl b. Yasār (Aghānī (D), IV, 411) the pioneer Shu'ūbī poet, and note the considerable similarity between these and those of Bashshār in terms of Shu'ūbism. (Dīwān Bashshār, I, 377).

Islam as an Arab religion nor the Abbasids as Arab rulers.[25] He goes on to emphasize, in his boastful qaṣīda, the major role played by the Persians in the Abbasid victory and regards it as honourable and glorious.[26] Thus as it had no political colour, the Shu'ūbism of Bashshār could not have posed any threat to the community, and the Zandaqa for which he was executed would not have had any link with his Shu'ūbism. The nature of his Zandaqa will be examined below.

Another well-known figure among both groups, Shu'ūbis and Zindīqs, is Abū Nuwās, whose Shu'ūbism is mentioned in both classical and modern sources.[27] Although he was a mawlā of Ḥakam, a Yemeni tribe, he was fluctuating in his walā', as a consequence of his dislike of the phenomenon of tribal society. In his jocular way Abū Nuwās once claimed to be a descendant of 'Ubayad Allāh b. Ziyād[28] and, on one occasion a descendant of al-Farazdaq, the poet.[29] As a partisan of the Southern Arabs he criticizes

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25. In a qasida praising Muḥammad b. Abīl-l-'Abbās, who had been sent to fight with the Daylam, Bashshār refers to the latter as al-Mulḥidīn and expresses his happiness at their defeat. (Dīwān, III, 36)

26. Dīwān, I, 379.

27. Ibn Rashīq, al-'Umda, I, 155; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd, II, 257; Ibn Manẓūr, Akhbār Abī Nuwās, I, 38-43, 48; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, Ḥadīth al-Arbi'ā', II, 90-91, 96-97, 134.

28. Ibn Manẓūr, op. cit., I, 23.

29. Ibid., 28-32. Dīwān (G), 522-523.

the Nizāriyya in his famous bā'iyya for which he was put in prison by ar-Rashīd.[30] The tribes of Tamīm and Asad have also been satirized by him.[31] Despite his walā' to the Yemenis, he wrote a satire against them in some epigrams on Hāshim b. Ḥudayj,[32] although later in a qaṣīda he retreated and praised the Yemenis.[33] His unsteady position towards the tribes was the subject of a satire made by al-Faḍl b. 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad ar-Raqāshī against him.[34] Apart from the caustic satires against the Arabs in the above epigrams, Abū Nuwās praises Persian culture in some verses and introduces Persian themes (such as Nawrūz, Rāmrūz, Rustam, Vīs, Rāmīn and the like) and Persian words; all these facts have been regarded as a manifestation of his attachment to Persian culture and to Shu'ūbism, as has been suggested by some scholars including F. Gabrieli.[35]

The names of Kisrā and Persia and their glorious

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30. Dīwān (G), 506-509. Cf. Dīwān, Ms. Fātiḥ 3374, fol. 276b.

31. Dīwān (G), 510-513.

32. Ibid., 549-552. Ibn Manẓūr, op. cit., I, 18-22. Hāshim b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī was a noble of Egypt about whom Abū Nuwās composed some epigrams and praises. An account of him is recorded by Abū Hiffān, Akhbār Abī Nuwās, 95.

33. Ibn Manẓūr, op. cit., I, 36-38.

34. Ibid., 43.

35. 'Abū Nuwās poeta abbaside', Oriente moderno, 33 (1953), 283.

memories are mentioned by Abū Nuwās on different occasions when he indulges in moments of pleasure, as when visiting a tavern in Ctesiphon or drinking from a cup on which was pictured Kisrā and his knights.[36] Despite Ibn Manẓūr's claim,[37] this kind of poetic fantasy in itself can hardly be regarded as evidence for Shu'ūbī leanings. Similarly the employment of Persian themes, as rightly pointed out by E. Wagner,[38] cannot prove his Shu'ūbism either, when we consider contemporary Abbasid culture in which Persian mythology had become a part of the common Islamic literary stock, and when Persian and Christian festivals were celebrated by the Muslims of Iraq. Neither can we claim that the Persian words are evidence of his Shu'ūbism, for quite apart from those Persian words which were part of the current vocabulary of Abbasid Arabic, he also freely employs Persian words in his ghilmāniyyāt about Persian boys;[39] however in the latter case he uses them to achieve a particular effect and they are not used to promote nationalistic feeling. This is apparent when we note that he used Syriac and Christian terms in his poems

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36. Dīwān (G), 37, 102, 418.

37. Akhbār Abī Nuwās, I, 38-43.

38. Abū Nuwās, 139.

39. For the Persian words used in Abū Nuwās' works see M. Minovi, 'Yakī az Fārsiyyāt-i Abū Nuwās', Zeki Velidi Togan'a Armağan, 437-450. E. Wagner, Abū Nuwās, 213-215.

about Christian boys.[40]

As a poet of the new Abbasid era, Abū Nuwās abandoned the pre-Islamic poetical tradition and employed new images reflecting Abbasid society. In his disparagement of certain Arabic traditions he mainly compares the nomadic life of the Arabs with urban life:

'Leave the ruined encampments to be swept by the south wind
And for vicissitudes of time to wear out their newness
And leave to the rider of the camel a land
In which the thoroughbred male and female camel wander.
A land whose vegetation is ʿushar and ṭalḥ
And the greater part of whose game is hyenas and wolves
And do not take amusement from the beduin,
Nor livelihood,for their livelihood is drought-stricken.
Leave milk to be drunk by men
Among whom delicate life is strange.
When the milk is curdled, urinate upon it
And do not feel embarrassed, for there is no sin in that.
Better than that is pure ,cool wine ,
Which is circulated by a cultivated cupbearer...'.[41]

However, his praise for things Persian is not similar to that of Bashshār and Ismāʿīl b. Yasār; he does not mention the glorious Persian culture in order to accrue any honour for himself and his fellow-Persians, or to humiliate the Arabs. Identifying himself with the Abbasid culture and civilization, Abū Nuwās glorifies that culture, which was largely influenced by the Persians, and his Iranophil tendency is to be considered mainly a pride in the Persian

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40. Dīwān, Fātiḥ, no. 3775, fols. 51b-59a.

41. Dīwān (G), 11; Eng. tr. by A. Wormhoudt, 156-157. Cf. two other qaṣīdas with the same theme, Dīwān (G) 127, 557.

share of Islamic culture rather than in Persia as a nation.[42] In any case Abū Nuwās was not an Arabophobe; we should bear in mind that most of his anti-Arab verses were against the Northern Arabs, in other words, they are mainly based on ʻAṣabiyya rather than Shuʻūbiyya.[43] As an apolitical poet, Abū Nuwās was satisfied with the existing situation and unlike some Shuʻūbis his aim was not to break the Arab domination in the political and cultural field, while his hedonistic attitude did not allow him to differentiate between Arab and non-Arab.[44] Thus, Abū Nuwās can hardly be called a Shuʻūbī and consequently his Zandaqa, which will later be examined, does not have any connection with Shuʻūbism.

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42. E. Wagner, Abū Nuwās, 141. Shawqī Ḍayf, Taʾrīkh al-Adab al-ʻArabī, III, 321.

43. Abū Nuwās did not participate in political activities; only once, in Egypt, did he recite a poem to pacify the dissident population (Abū Hiffān, Akhbār Abī Nuwās, 31-32; Ibn Manẓūr, Akhbār Abi Nuwās, I, 239-241). Another time, when he was asked by a Kharijite friend to participate in a Kharijite revolt, he excused himself (Dīwān, Fātiḥ, no. 3774, fol. 199b. Cf. E. Wagner, Abū Nuwās, 133-135).

44. Dīwān (G), 714; Dīwān, Fātiḥ, no. 3774, fol. 161a; Ibid., Fātiḥ, no. 3775, fol. 40b.

V. ZANDAQA IN EARLY ABBASĪD SOCIETY

a. The Persecution of the Zindīqs

b. The Zindīqs and the Society of their Times

a. The Persecution of the Zindīqs

The Abbasids established their rule on three pillars, religion, army and bureaucracy, in each of which innovations were introduced into the structure of the government. The most important of these three was religion, which had been the major factor in the Abbasid revolution which aimed to inaugurate an Islamic government and restore the rule of justice in accordance with the Book and Sunna.[1] The maintenance of the religious aspect of the caliphate was a policy followed by the early Abbasids. Being aware of the important political role of religion, they tried to create a 'religious institution'. Meanwhile religious thought and sciences, which had entered upon the stage of evolution and formation from the late first century A.H., were encouraged by the Abbasids. The efforts of the Mu'tazilites, whose apologies and refutations of alien ideas defended Islamic doctrine, supported caliphal policy. Unification and institutionalization of religion could, in fact, be a means for disarming and eliminating its enemies. But in the heterogeneous society of Iraq with its varying religious and intellectual trends unification was a difficult, even impossible, task.

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1. H.A.R. Gibb, 'Government and Islam under the Early Abbasids', L'Elaboration de l'Islam (Paris, 1961), 119-120.

Nevertheless, the authorities, in accordance with their religious policy, from the mid second century adopted a firm policy of suppressing non-monotheist ideas. Among the many religio-intellectual movements, it was only Zandaqa which became the target of persecution and for which an official Inquisition was set up. The persecution of heretics was a new aspect in Islamic society. In the Umayyad period the persecution of dissenters was mainly political. The Kharijites and Shiites were not at all persecuted by the ruling powers because of their special dogmatic position, but, in the first place, because of their non-acceptance of the ruling caliphate.[2]

The persecution was officially started in 163/779 in the reign of al-Mahdī. Certain Zindīqs, such as Ibn al-Muqaffa',[3] Ibn Abī l-'Awjā',[4] and al-Baqlī,[5] who were

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2. I. Goldziher, 'Sāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Quddūs', Trans. IX Int. Cong. of Orientalists, 104.

3. The case of Ibn al-Muqaffa' (c. 102-139/c. 720-756) has been examined by F. Gabrieli, RSO XIII (1932), 197-247 (Ar. tr. by A. Badawī, min Ta'rīkh al-Ilḥād, 40-53); idem, EI^2, art. Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

4. Ibn Abī l-'Awjā', the theologian who was probably a Manichee, was executed by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, the governor of Kufa. The latter was later dismissed by the Caliph al-Manṣūr, who disapproved of the execution. See Ṭabarī, III, 375-376; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-Ashrāf, III, 95-96.

5. See Appendix, p. 268.

executed during the caliphate of al-Manṣūr (136-158/754-775), but their execution was mainly motivated by personal factors, and was not instigated by any official organ of persecution.

The Caliph al-Mahdī (158-169/775-785), who inherited a rich and relatively pacific empire, followed from the beginning of his reign a policy of compromise towards the Alids; he released numbers of political prisoners[6] and took many religious steps by means of which he succeeded in acquiring popularity as well as eliminating some adversaries of the Abbasids. Construction and enlargement took place in the Holy places of Mecca and Medina, and in mosques of some cities.[7] For the convenience of pilgrims on the road between Iraq and Hijaz many wells and landmarks were built.[8] Large sums of money, garments and gifts were presented to the people of Mecca and Medina.[9] The maqṣūras of the mosques, which separated the rulers and dignitaries from other worshippers were removed.[10]

Among the various religious actions of al-Mahdī, the most momentous one was the persecution of the Zanādiqa, which started from 163/778-9. In this year, at the time of a military expedition which he conducted to Aleppo with

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6. Ṭabarī, III, 461; al-Azdī, Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil, 236.
7. Ṭabarī, III, 483, 486, 520; al-Azdī, 239, 248.
8. Ṭabarī, III, 486; al-Azdī, 240.
9. Ṭabarī, III, 483.
10. Ibid., III, 486.

his son Hārūn, he put the muḥtasib 'Abd al-Jabbār in charge of arresting the Zindīqs of the area. The arrested Zindīqs were led before the caliph, who was at the time in Dābiq. He had some of them executed and put on the gibbet, and their books were cut by knives.[11]

The persecution of the Zindīqs was continued and in the year 166/782-3 Dā'ūd b. Rūḥ b. Ḥātim, Ismā'īl b. Sulaymān b. Mujālid, Muḥammad b. Abī Ayyūb al-Makkī and Muḥammad b. Ṭayfūr were arrested and led before al-Mahdī. They confessed to Zandaqa. After repentance they were released, but Dā'ūd b. Rūḥ was sent to his father, the governor of Basra, with a recommendation that he should

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11. Ṭabarī, III, 499. The later author Ibn Nubāta (d. 768/1366) gives a fictitious account about the motivation of the Persecution:

> "Al-Mahdi dreamed one night that the Ka'ba which had been sloped was fixed by him and another person. Next day the person with the description, which he saw in the dream, was inquired for. Eventually a certain Zindīq called Ḥamdūn was found with the same description. After repentance he was appointed as a persecutor of the Zindīqs. His knowledge about the Zindīq community helped him to arrest a large number of them."

(Sarḥ al-'Uyūn, 376). In this story Ḥamdūn apparently represents the historical figure of Ḥamdawayh, the Inquisitor.

punish his son.[12] In the same year 'Abd Allāh the son of Abū 'Ubayd Allāh, the vizier, was accused of Zandaqa and led before the caliph.[13]

In the year 167/783-4 the persecution was energetically continued by searching everywhere for the Zindīqs and executing them.[14] To the special office of persecuting the Zanādiqa, 'Umar al-Kalwādhī was appointed, and was called Ṣāḥib az-Zanādiqa.[15] Among those who were arrested on the charge of Zandaqa in this year was Yazīd b. al-Fayḍ, the secretary of al-Manṣūr, but he succeeded in escaping from prison.[16]

In the year 168/784-5, after the death of 'Umar al-Kalwādhī, Ḥamdawayh (Muḥammad b. 'Isā of Mīsān) replaced him as Ṣāḥib az-Zanādiqa,[17] and a number of the Zindīqs were executed in Baghdād.[18]

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12. Ṭabarī, III, 517.
13. Ibid., III, 517; al-Jahshiyārī, 153-154. Cf. below p. 264.
14. Ṭabarī, III, 519-520.
15. Ibid., III, 520; al-Jahshiyārī, 156. 'Abd al-Jabbār who had been previously in charge of persecution (see above p. 177) was also called Ṣāḥib az-Zanādiqa in some sources (Aghānī (D), III, 247.)
16. Ṭabarī, III, 520; al-Jahshiyārī, 156.
17. Ṭabarī, III, 522. Al-Iṣfahānī mentions a certain poet named Ḥamdawī (Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥamdawayh) who was the grandson of Ḥamdawayh (Aghānī (B), XII, 61).
18. Ṭabarī, III, 522.

In Muḥarram 169/July 785 al-Mahdī died, but the persecution of the Zanādiqa was carried on by his successor al-Hādī. In his first year as caliph, al-Hādī (169-170/785) ordered the execution of a number of the Zindīqs, notably Yazdān b. Bādhān, the secretary of Yaqṭīn and his son Alī b. Yaqṭīn. After the execution his body was put on a gibbet.[19] In the same year Ya'qūb b. Faḍl, a member of the Hāshimite family, was strangled. He and another Hāshimite, the son of Dā'ūd b. 'Alī, had been arrested on a charge of Zandaqa in the time of the former Caliph al-Mahdī, and had both confessed to Zandaqa. Bound by an oath, al-Mahdī could not put them to death but he made a recommendation to this effect to his son al-Hādī. The son of Dā'ūd b. 'Alī died in prison during the reign of al-Mahdī; as for Ya'qūb, al-Hādī, after his accession to the throne, had him strangled.[20]

Let us now consider who were those Zindīqs against whom the persecution was directed in the reign of al-Mahdī and al-Hādī. The historical accounts merely describe them by the vague general term of 'Zindīq', without any hint as to their creeds and activities. Fortunately a tradition quoted by at-Ṭabarī sheds some light on this question and indicates that the persecution was aimed at the Manichees. Aṭ-Ṭabarī relates on the authority of the father of Muḥammad b. 'Aṭā' b. Muqdim al-Wāsiṭī that:

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19. Ibid., III, 549. See Appendix, p. 271.

20. Ṭabarī, III, 549-550.

"A Zindīq was one day led before al-Mahdī who invited him to repent. After his refusal to repent he was decapitated and put on the gibbet. Then al-Mahdī said to Mūsā /al-Hādī/: O my son! If this power descends to you, get rid of this band, namely the adherents of Mani (Aṣḥāb Mānī), because they are a sect who invite people to action outwardly good, like avoiding impurity (fawāḥish), practising asceticism in this world, working for the future life. From there they lead them to forbid meat, to practise ritual ablutions and to refrain from killing beasts under the pretext of avoiding sin and vice. From there they lead them to the cult of the two principles of which one is the light and the other the darkness. Then it permits them to marry their sister and their daughters, to wash in urine, and to steal infants on the road to save them from the straying of the darkness /leading them/ towards the good guidance of the light. Set up gibbets against this sect and draw the sword against them, and by punishing them get closer to God who has no associate. I have seen in a dream your ancestor al-ʿAbbās, who has girt me with two swords and has ordered me to kill those who believe in the two principles."[21]

"After ten months of his reign" continues the narrator "Mūsā /al-Hādī/ declared: 'By God if it is granted to me to live I shall exterminate all of this sect to the extent of not leaving of them even one eye to see.'[21]

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21. Ṭabarī, III, 888.

It is said that he had ordered a thousand palm-tree trunks to be prepared for him which would serve as gibbets. He made his declaration in such and such a month. Two months later he was dead.[22]

The description given by al-Mahdī of the Manichees is correct, except to the later accusations such as stealing infants, marriage with sisters and daughters, and ablution with urine.[23] This tradition nevertheless

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22. Loc. cit.

23. Here there is a confusion between Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism, since marriage with sisters and daughters and ablution with urine were practised by the Zoroastrians rather than Manichees.

Next-of-kin marriage, which is one of the much discussed subjects in Zoroastrian studies, is reported not only of the royal family but also of the Zoroastrians generally. It was, doubtless, practised among them until the early Abbasid period, since the reformer Bih Āfrīd (d.c.129/744) forbade his followers to marry their mothers, sisters, daughters or nieces (cf. al-Bīrūnī, Chronology, 210-211; Shahristānī, 187; al-Jāḥiz, al-Bayān, II, 260), but it has been abandoned by the modern Zoroastrians for centuries. For further study see L.H. Gray "Marriage (Iranian)", ERE, VIII , 456b-459a; E.W. West, Pahlavi Texts : Sacred Books of the East, XVIII, 389-430.

An account recorded by Ṭabarī indicates that after the execution of Ya'qūb b. al-Faḍl on a charge of Zandaqa, his daughter Fāṭima, who was also a Zindiq, confessed that she was pregnant by her father (Ṭabarī, III, 550). The authenticity of the account is, however, open to doubt.

The purification with cow's urine is also a

indicates that the persecution was principally directed against the Manichees.

The fact was that the Manichaeism among current religions was regarded as particularly dangerous for the community. The Manichees were not People of the Book who could be regarded as Ahl adh-Dhimma (the Protected Communities), and were generally treated with tolerance by the early Abbasids.[24] Furthermore, Manichaeism

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Zoroastrian custom. A mixture of water and cow's urine (Aves. gaomaēza, Pah. gōmēz) was used as a ritual purification on many occasions (see A.V.W. Jackson, Zoroastrian Studies, 199-200; A.J. Cornoy, "Purification (Iranian)", ERE, X, 492b-493a). There is a passage by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā ar-Rāzī in which the irrationality of some religions is discussed. Among the other examples is the case of the Manichees who leave their bodies dirty by avoidance from water and using urine instead. (Rasā'il Falsafiyya (Cairo, 1939), 105, quoted in Taqī-zādeh, Mānī wa Dīn-i Ū ,118).

Concerning the abduction of children ascribed to the Zanādiqa, there is no reference to it elsewhere. G. Vajda quoted a passage from the Talbīs Iblīs which accuses the Daysanites of taking men and strangling them in order to free the light from the darkness (RSO, XVII (1938), 191). It may be presumed that such an accusation was based on the adoption of some children by Manichaean missionaries.

24. Cf. F. Omar, op. cit., 144-146.

as a missionary religion spread in society by means of books and missionaries. Since its revival in Iraq from the beginning of the second century A.H., in addition to the devoted Manichees, Manichaeism, or some aspects of it, became attractive to some Muslims, especially the intellectuals. Thus following upon his religious campaign al-Mahdī found it necessary to persecute the Zindīqs, both the Manichees and the crypto-Manichees.

However our sources do not give a detailed picture of the scale of executions in the period of persecution (163-170/779-787), since only the names of eminent persons have been recorded. The identy and number of the Zindīqs from among the common people are not known to us. The Arabic sources on various incidents only refer to these as "a group of them" (jamā'at minhum).[25] Nevertheless, they must have been a considerable number. A unique and valuable piece of information preserved in an account of Michael the Syrian throws, to some extent, a light on the scale of persecution, and emphasizes that the executed were Manichees and that many of them were Arabs (Taiyayi):

> "He /al-Mahdī/ instigated also a persecution against the Manichees in all places. Many of them Taiyayi were convicted of this heresy and were put to death because they would not renounce it.
>
> A place called Padana Rabta which was full of Manichees was destroyed; Christians

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25. Ṭabarī, III, 499, 549.

were taken for having been unjustly accused of this heresy. A Persian also denounced some members of the family of Gumaye and they were taken; the motive /for the vengeance/ of the Persian was that they had not given him lodging in their house in the village in Hīnan; he was annoyed and when he saw in Baghdad that a persecution had been instigated against the Manichees, he denounced the people of Gumaye as being Manichees. Eight of the principal members of the family were taken away and thrown into prison. After severe torture, three died in prison and the other five were freed and left the prison. Thanks to the Lord who saved them."[26]

The persecution was basically religiously orientated rather than politically. It is hard to conceive that Manichaeism, with its ascetic nature and passive attitude

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26. Chronique de Michel le Syrien, tr. J.B. Chabot (Paris, 1905), III, 1, 3.

The account given by Bar Hebraeus (Chronography, tr. E.A.W. Budge, 116) seems to be paraphrased from the above account:

"And he /al-Mahdī/ set up a persecution of the Mānīnāyē (Manicheans), and he overthrew the place which is called Padānā Rabbethā (i.e. the Great Place) which was full of Manicheans. And many Arabs were entrapped by the heresy and were killed. And also eight men of rank and wealth belonging to Bēth Gūmāyē were caught (or, snared) by the wickedness, and after many tribulations three died in prison and five were saved."

towards life, could form any organized political resistance to the Abbasids, though if it became sufficiently widespread it could become a political danger in the long term.[27] Zandaqa and its link with the Shu'ūbiyya, which is suggested by some scholars, has been already discussed and it has been shown that Zandaqa, i.e. Manichaeism, did not have any national base which could be used by the Shu'ūbīs.[28] Furthermore, the Zindīqs belonged to different strata. Apart from its penetration among the intellectuals, some of them close to the caliphal court, Manichaeism did attract, somehow, certain members of the eminent and ruling families.

On the death of al-Hādī, the persecution was eased. After his accession to the throne, Hārūn ar-Rashīd (170-193/786-809) proclaimed an amnesty, and those Zindīqs who had escaped or concealed themselves were able to reappear.

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27. The passive attitude of the Zanādiqa (Manichees) is mentioned in K. at-Tarbī' wa-t-Tadwīr of al-Jāḥiẓ (ed. Ch. Pellat, p. 77), where there is a discussion of why every religious community established a state and kingdom except the Zanādiqa, and why all the preceding nations persecuted them. The reason is traced to the nature of their religion, which is against killing and violence.

28. See above, p. 161 seq.

Among them were Yūnus b. Farwa and Yazīd b. Fayḍ,[29] the latter having escaped from prison in 167/795-6.[30]

Although persecution was not seriously continued after this time, arrests and prosecutions on the charge of Zandaqa sometimes took place.[31] As-Sam'ānī (d. 562/1166), and following him Ibn al-Athīr, claim that ar-Rashīd burnt the book and the cap of Mani, which were preserved by his adherents, and executed a large number of the Zanādiqa.[32] The office of Inquisition, Ṣāḥib az-Zanādiqa, existed in the time of ar-Rashīd and it was headed by Ḥamdawayh.[33] Some accounts report the

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29. Ṭabarī, III, 604.

30. Ibid., III, 520.

31. Some of the later sources assert the persecution of a large number of the Zindīqs by ar-Rashīd ('tā'ifa kathīra' : Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāya, X, 161. See as-Sam'ānī, al-Ansāb, VI,338). Some reported individual cases, however, imply the operation of the office of Inquisition. The daughter of the Poet Muṭī' b. Iyās was arrested on a charge of Zandaqa in the time of ar-Rashīd (Aghānī, XII, 85). For the case of Abu Nuwās see below, p. 244.

32. Al-Ansāb and al-Lubāb, s.v. Zandī.

33. Ḥamdawayh (Muḥammad b. 'Īsā) who was appointed in 168/784-5 (Tabari, III, 522) remained in his office in the reign of ar-Rashīd according to anecdotes recorded in Ibn Hiffān, Akhbār Abī Nuwās, 122; Ibn Manẓūr, Akhbār Abī Nuwās, I, 224; al-Murtaḍā, al-Amālī, I, 103.

persecution during the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn.[34]

Now let us look at the process of persecution. The accused person, whose accusation would be based either on reputation or on a report, was arrested and put in a special prison reserved for the Zindīqs (ḥabs az-Zanādiqa).[35] Finally he was led before the Inquisitor or the caliph, where he was first subjected to an interrogation about his belief. If he confessed to Zandaqa, he was invited to repent (istitāba). If he did so, he was released;[36] otherwise he was executed and in some cases his body was put on a gibbet.

The arrested Zindīq was also subjected to certain tests to prove or to acquit him of the crime. One of them to spit on the portrait of Mani.[37] When Abū Nuwās was arrested on a charge of Zandaqa, he was invited to spit on a portrait of Mani, and he went one better and tried

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34. Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, III, 422.

35. Cf. Aghānī, XIII, 74; al-Jahshiyārī, 296. We do not know whether there were special prisons in other major cities apart from Baghdad.

36. Cf. Tabari, III, 517.

37. Cf. Ibn Nubāta, Sarḥ al-'Uyūn, 376. The portrait of Mani must have been venerated from an early period in the Manichaean community since it is mentioned in the Coptic Manichaean literature (G. Vajda, RSO, XVII (1938), 185, n.1).

to vomit on the picture.[38] In the account concerning the ten Zindīqs arrested and led before al-Ma'mun, it is also mentioned that they were ordered to spit on a portrait of Mani, but they refused.[39] According to the latter account killing an aquatic bird called tadhruj[40] was another test which the suspected Zindīq was ordered to undergo. This was probably a simple way of testing the Manichees, who avoided killing living beings,[41] but the

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38. See below p. 252.

39. Murūj, III, 421-423.

40. The word is 'tadhruj' according to de Meynard ed. of Murūj (vol. VII, p. 15), but Beirut ed. reads 'durrāj'. The word tadhraj/tadraj or tadhruj/tadruj is the Arabisied form of the Persian tadharv which means 'pheasant', i.e. a multi-coloured long-tailed fowl. The classic name tadharv is replaced in modern Persian by the Turkish word qarqāvul. It is called tūrang or turang in the dialect of Māzandarān (Ṭabaristān), where the pheasant can be still found. Some sources confuse it with 'partridge' (Ar. ḥajal, Pers. kabk) as well as with 'francolin' (Ar., Pers. durrāj). (See Dihkhudā, Lughat Nāma, s.v. tadharv and tadruj; al-Jawālīqī, al-Mu'arrab, s.v. tadruj). The unsolved problem is that tadhruj is not an aquatic bird (ṭā'ir mā') as it is described in the above account.

41. For the prohibition of killing animals in Manichaeism see A.V. William Jackson, Research in Manichaeism, 181, 199; al-Jaḥiẓ, al-Ḥayawān, IV, 428; Nadīm, 396. Cf. the poem about the Zindīq Yazdān b. Bādhān (see

reason for specifying the tadhruj is unclear, since there is no reference in Manichaean literature to veneration of the tadhruj or any other bird. The killing of animals was apparently one of the basic tests of the Zindīqs. When Abū Nuwās was accused of Zandaqa and put in the prison of the Zanādiqa, he was asked whether he venerated the ram (referring to avoiding of killing and eating them). He gave the humorous reply that he ate them even with their skin.[42]

Another test was to require the Zindīq to recite the Koran. 'Abd Allāh the son of Abū 'Ubayd Allāh who had

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Appendix p. 272). In al-Ḥayawān (IV, 459-60) al-Jāḥiz relates a story about two Zindīq (Manichaean) monks who saw an ostrich swallow a gem and did not mention it in order to save its life, although both of them, being accused of stealing the gem, were severely beaten.

In the West also some dualist heresies (such as the Cathars), which were presumably influenced by Manichaeism, abstained from killing animals and eating meat (cf. S. Runciman, The Medieval Manichee, 151; R.I. Moor, The Birth of Popular Heresy, 22, 91). In the year 1229 two Cathars who abjured their faith attested the sincerity of their conversion by eating meat before a meeting of bishops (G. Vajda, RSO, XVII, 185).

42. Al-Jahshiyārī, 296. Cf. below p. 245.

already confessed to Zandaqa in front of al-Mahdī was asked to recite the Koran, but he recited: "May your worlds be blessed by the greatness of creation."[43] There were probably other tests to distinguish the Zindīqs.[44]

Sometimes the accused Zindīq was beaten in order to make him confess Zandaqa as it was in the case of Ādam b. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz who was flogged 300 lashes by order of al-Mahdī but denied the charge.[45]

Searching the books of the accused person was also reported. The books of the poet Ibrāhīm b. Sayāba, after his arrest on a charge of Zandaqa, were searched.[46]

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43. Al-Jahshiyārī, 153; Ṭabarī, III, 517. Aṭ-Tabarī also reports in the year 161/777-8 that a son of Abū ʻUbayd Allāh named Muḥammad was tried. He was ordered by the caliph to recite the Koran and he did it badly (ista'jama) (Ṭabarī, III, 490). See Appendix A, p. 264.

As regards the text recited by ʻAbd Allah (تبارکت وعالموک بعظم الخلق) its origin is not known. It may have been recited instead of a verse of the Koran, but one may presume that it is a sentence from a Manichaean text. Cf. the formula recited in the third prostration (sujūd) of the Manichaean daily prayer: " .... مسبح مبارك انت , عظمتك کلها , عالموك المبارکون الذین دعوتهم یسبحك مسبح جنودك و ابرارك وکلمتك وعظمتك ورضوانك ". (Nadim, 397)

44. The later author Ibn Nubāta says that the Zindīqs were examined by various tests. He reports an anecdote about a Zindīq muadhdhin who recites the adhān wrongly (Sarḥ al-ʻUyūn, 376).

45. Aghānī (B) XIV, 61. Cf. the anecdote of Jahjah: Appendix A, pp. 275-276

46. Ibn al-Muʻtazz, Ṭabaqāt, 93.

However, torture can only have been used in the cases of those Muslims who were wrongly accused of Zandaqa, since the real Manichees did not deny or hide their faith,[47] and Manichaeism rejects taqiyya.[48]

In the cases of some dignitaries or members of prominent families, the caliph himself conducted the trial. When four Zindīqs from prominent families were arrested in the year 166/782-3, they were led before al-Mahdī to be tried.[49] The two members of the Hashimite house who were arrested were also tried by al-Mahdī. One of them, Ya'qūb b. al-Faḍl, told the caliph: "I confess Zandaqa before you, but I do not disclose it in public." Removing him, al-Mahdī said: "Woe unto you! You should be a zealot for the Prophet Muḥammad, from whom you have acquired honour." The caliph stopped arguing with him, and being bound by an oath not to kill Hāshimites, he put both Ya'qūb and the son of Dā'ūd b. 'Alī in prison, recommending to his successor Mūsā al-Hādī that he should execute them.[50] The trial of 'Abd Allāh the son of Abū

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47. For cases of the Zindīqs who confessed openly to Zandaqa after being questioned in the tribunal, see Ṭabarī, III, 517, 520, 549; al-Jahshiyārī, 153, 154.

48. Al-Jahshiyārī, 153. Nevertheless al-Jāḥiẓ in one occasion describes the Zanādiqa as hypocrites (munāfiqūn) (al-Ḥayawān, IV, 432).

49. Ṭabarī, III, 517. Cf. above p. 177.

50. Ṭabarī, III, 549.

'Ubayad Allāh the vizier, which ended in his execution, was also conducted by al-Mahdī. The poet Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Quddūs was also tried by al-Mahdī.[51] The trials of Abū Nuwās were also held in the presence of and with the participation of the caliphs ar-Rashīd and al-Amīn.[52]

The persecution period was an opportunity for personal and political revenge. We have already seen in the account of Michael the Syrian how personal feuds caused false reports to be submitted to the Inquisition.[53] In the case of 'Abd Allāh the son of 'Ubayd Allāh personal rivalry played a major role. 'Abd Allāh might have been a Zindīq, but his execution was mainly due to a conspiracy by ar-Rabī' b. Yūnus to discredit his rival Abū 'Ubayd Allāh. Even after the trial and conviction of 'Abd Allāh, ar-Rabī' advised the caliph to command Abū 'Ubayd Allāh to kill his son with his own hands, but this advice was not accepted.[54] Examples of personal revenge of this kind are found even before the Persecution period as in the case of Bashshār b. Burd.[55] Nevertheless the official persecution of the Zindīqs greatly increased opportunities for personal or political revenge.

Sacrilegious action was sometimes regarded as

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51. See below p p. 208-211.

52. Ibn Manẓūr, Akhbār Abi Nuwās, I, 223, 225.

53. See below p. 183.

54. Ṭabarī, III, 490, 517; al-Jahshiyārī, 153-154.

55. See below p. 225.

Zandaqa by the common people who reported it to the Inquisition, although such cases were not always Zandaqa in which case the accused would be acquitted.[56]

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56. See below p. 252 for the anecdote of Abū Nuwās in the mosque. Cf. Ibn Manẓūr, Akhbār Abī Nuwās, I, 223. Cf. also Aghānī (B), III, 142-143 about the nocturnal devotions of Abū l-'Atāhiya and the wrong interpretation of his neighbour.

b. The Zindīqs and the Society of their Times

As we have already mentioned when dealing with the period of the Persecution of the Zanādiqa, from among a large number of Zindīqs who were executed, only the names of eminent persons, either from the aristocracy or from literary circles, have been recorded by our sources. Apart from those who were arrested or executed on a charge of Zandaqa, a number of prominent personalities of the second century A.H. were also regarded as Zindīqs in the early sources, although they were not in any way persecuted. Some of the latter group were well-known Zindīqs in their own time, while the cases of others are not quite certain, and the accusation is only made by later generations. In fact, the Zandaqa of this group was in some cases merely licentiousness.

Some of the sources provide us with a list of Zindīqs. In his K. al-Ḥayawān (IV, 447) under the title of dhikr ba'd az-Zanādiqa, al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869) gives a list of fourteen Zindīqs. This incomplete and non- comprehensive list includes only the names of some poets who were known as Zindīqs, and whose Zandaqa in most cases was nothing more than mujūn. The longest list is given by an-Nadīm (d. 385/995) towards the end of his chapter on Manichaeism, where Zandaqa is ascribed to twenty-one persons. Unlike the rest of

the chapter, which is taken from the Manichaean sources and is regarded as the most valuable Manichaean material in Arabic, his list of the Zindīqs is of much less value and reliability. Among these Zindīqs, who include poets, theologians, governors and viziers, there are the Barmakids, Isma'īlīs (like Abū Shākir and al-Jayhānī) and Imāmīs (like an-Nāshi'). Nevertheless, this heterogeneous list should be subjected to a critical study.

From the early sources (i.e. those not later than the fourth century A.H.) the names of about eighty persons may be found to whom Zandaqa, in its different meanings from Manichaeism to licentiousness, is ascribed.

The earliest person called a Zindīq in our sources is Ja'd b. Dirham who was executed in 125/743, although it is not certain whether he was known as a Zindīq in his lifetime or whether the term was used against him later. Some members of the Umayyad house whose cases have already been examined are also accused of Zandaqa.

Since the majority of the intellectuals of the second century A.H. were from the mawālī, most of the Zindīq poets and scribes were, consequently, of non-Arab origin. This fact should not, however, be taken to imply any exclusive link between Zandaqa and the mawālī. In fact there were many Zindīqs from among the Arabs. We have already seen the account of Michael the Syrian, which indicates that many of the Zindīqs

persecuted by al-Mahdī were Arabs.[1] Ibn Abī l-ʿAwjāʾ, who was executed on a charge of Zandaqa, was a noble Arab. Even among the Hāshimites there were some Zindīqs, some of whom were executed.[2] From the eminent and ruling families we have seen people such as the son of Abū ʿUbayd Allāh, the vizier, and Dāʾūd the son of Rūḥ b. Ḥātim, the governor of Basra.[3] It seems, however, that Zandaqa among the Qurashites was scant and unusual since when the Umayyad Ādam b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the poet, was arrested on a charge of Zandaqa for some of his licentious poems, and was led before al-Mahdī, he asked the caliph by way of denying the charge: "When have you seen a Qurashī being Zindīq?"[4]

Among the Zindīqs of the second century A.H. there are three women. The Hāshimite Yaʿqūb b. al-Faḍl, who was executed on a charge of Zandaqa by al-Hādī in the year 169/785, his wife, Khadīja, and a daughter of his, Fāṭima, were Zindīqs. They both confessed to Zandaqa before the caliph, and they died soon after the execution of Yaʿqūb.[5] The third woman, who was arrested and led before ar-Rashīd (170-193/786-809), was the daughter of the poet Muṭīʿ b. Iyās (d. 169/785). She

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1. See above p. 183.
2. See above p. 179.
3. Ṭabarī, III, 517; see above pp. 177-178.
4. Aghānī (B), XIV, 60-61; aṣ-Ṣafadī, al-Wāfī, V, 297.
5. Ṭabarī, III, 550-551.

confessed to Zandaqa and said that it was a religion which had been taught to her by her father. After repentance she was set free.[6]

Some of the Zindīqs served the caliphs, viziers or governors as scribes, tutors or boon-companions. Ibn al-Muqaffa' was a scribe of 'Umar b. Hubayra, Yazīd b. 'Umar, Sulaymān b. 'Alī and 'Īsā b. 'Alī.[7] Ḥammād 'Ajrad served as a nadīm and kātib to al-Walīd b. Yazīd, Muḥammad b. Abī l-'Abbās and other governors.[8] Muṭī' b. Iyās was a nadīm of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya and Ja'far b. al-Manṣūr.[9] Yūnus b. Abī Farwa was the scribe of 'Īsā b. Musā.[10] Even al-Mahdī was on good terms with Yaḥyā b. Ziyād and Muṭī' b. Iyās. The latter, despite his notoriety as a Zindīq, enjoyed the support of al-Mahdī.[11] Yaḥyā b. Ziyād is said to have been recommended to the Caliph al-Manṣūr by al-Mahdī for the governorship of Ahwāz.[12] But in his own reign al-Mahdī was more sensitive and cautious about Zandaqa. Once he chose Ibrāhīm b. Siyāba, the Zindīq poet, as his secretary

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6. Aghānī (B), XII, 85.
7. Cf. F. Gabrieli, EI^2, art. Ibn al-Muqaffa'.
8. Aghānī, XIII, 96; XIV, 335; cf. below pp. 237 seq.
9. Aghānī (D), XIII, 279, 288.
10. Al-Jahshiyārī, 130; al-Jāḥiẓ, ar-Rasā'il, II, 202; Aghānī, XIII, 88.
11. Aghānī (D), XIII, 318-319, 326.
12. Aghānī (B), XIII, 93.

after the latter had been acquitted of an accusation of Zandaqa, but soon after when some evidence supporting the accusation came to light, Ibn Siyāba was dismissed.[13] However, apart from the period of al-Mahdī and al-Hādī, the Zindīqs were tolerated and held office.

However, among those who were described as Zindīqs in the second century A.H. the majority were poets. As will become clear from examination of individual cases, apart from few instances most of these poets were not actually Manichees, and the term was applied to sceptics as well as to certain profligates.

The so-called Zindīq poets generally formed particular groups who had their own friendly gatherings for drinking and discussion. One group included Muṭī' b. Iyās, Yaḥyā b. Ziyād, Ibn al-Muqaffa' and Wāliba,[14] and another group comprised the three Ḥammāds.[15] Al-Jāḥiẓ names a group of thirteen Zindīq poets who were on friendly terms with each other.[16] These Zindīqs had in common a religious carelessness. An anti-religious trend was dominant in the Zindīq groups, and expressing doubt about dogmas and mocking religious acts were considered a sign of intelligence and wittiness, as al-Jaḥiẓ mentions in his attack on scribes.[17] In his

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13. Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭabaqāt, 93.

14. Aghānī (B), XII, 81; ash-Shābushtī, ad-Diyārāt, 161.

15. Aghānī, V, 166; XIII, 73.

16. Al-Ḥayawān, IV, 447.

17. Dhamm Akhlāq al-Kuttāb : Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ, II, 192.

satire on Abān al-Laḥiqī, Abū Nuwās says: "By blasphemy Abān wants to set as his model profligates like 'Ajrad, 'Ubāda, Wāliba, Muṭī' and others."[18] Ibn Munādhir in a poem blaming a certain Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī, who pretended to be a Zindīq, says:

"O Abū Ja'far, son of Ziyād!
You show a religion different from what you hide
In word and outward appearance you are a Zindīq
And inwardly a Muslim, a chaste young man
You are not a Zindīq, but
You want to be known as witty."[19]

It should be mentioned here that some Zindīq poets were famous for witticism. Abān al-Lāḥiqī praised himself for the quality of wit (ẓarf).[20] Abū Nuwās was so famous as a poet and wit that when al-Ma'mūn arrived in Baghdād and heard the news of Abū Nuwās' death, said: "The wit of the time has gone."[21] Thus 'the Zindīq's wit' (ẓarf az-Zindīq) became proverbial, although it is said that the word Zindīq in the proverb originally refers to Yaḥyā b. Ziyād the Zindīq poet. When describing anyone as a wit, Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb used to say, "He is more witty than the Zindīq" (huwa aẓraf min az-Zindīq) and by 'Zindīq' he meant Yaḥyā b.

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18. Dīwān (G), 544.
19. Aghānī, XVII, 15.
20. Ibid., XX, 75.
21. Dīwān Abī Nuwās (W), I, 19.

Ziyād.[22] However, it became a fashionable convention among poets of the second century A.H. who wished to be considered witty to adopt a Zindīq tone in their poetry. The fact that some poets who posed as Zindīqs were in fact inelegant and untalented poets is criticized by al-Jāḥiz, and also an anonymous satirist:

> "He pretended to be a Zindīq in order
> to be regarded
> By the literati a witty Zindīq
> But as a label Zandaqa remained
> And no one mentioned him as witty
> or charming."[23]

Nevertheless, in society Zandaqa was regarded as a shame and disgrace. The word 'Zindīq' was used as a term of abuse to insult or revile a person.[24]

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22. Ibid., I, 189.

23. Ath-Tha'ālibi, Thimār al-Qulūb, 138-139.

24. Ḥammād 'Ajrad was addressed as 'a Zindīq' by Bashshār, who was, ironically, himself accused of Zandaqa (cf. al-Marzubānī, Nūr al-Qabas, 117; Ibn Nubāta, Sarḥ al-'Uyūn, 305). A young boy insulting Abū Nuwās called him 'Zindīq' (Dīwān, Ms. Fatiḥ no. 3775, fol. 32a). An anecdote reports that once people followed Abū Nuwās, who was in a funny dress, and shouted: "Zindīq! Zindīq!" (Ibn Manẓūr, Akhbār Abī Nuwās, I, 223). When people, according to one tradition, saw one of the three Ḥammāds, they used to shout "Zindīq! kill him." (Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭabaqāt, 69).

VI. INDIVIDUAL CASES OF POETS ACCUSED OF ZANDAQA

a. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Quddūs

b. Bashshār b. Burd

c. Abān al-Lāḥiqī

d. Ḥammād ʿAjrad

e. Abū Nuwās

f. Abu ʾl-ʿAtāhiya

a. Ṣāliḥ b. ʻAbd al-Quddūs

Ṣāliḥ b. ʻAbd al-Quddūs, the 2nd/8th century poet executed on a charge of Zandaqa, has been regarded as a prominent figure in the intellectual milieu of Basra. He was variously designated 'al-ḥakīm', 'al-Mutakallim' and 'ṣāḥib al-Falsafa' in most Arabic sources, for his knowledge of theology and philosophy and his didactical poems on ḥikma.[1] We are told by Saʻīd b. Sallām that there were six theologians in Basra: ʻAmr b. ʻUbayd, Wāṣil b. ʻAṭāʼ, Bashshār b. Burd, Ṣālih b. ʻAbd al-Quddūs, ʻAbd al-Karīm b. Abī al-ʻAwjāʼ and Jarīr b. Ḥāzim al-Azdī. They used to gather in al-Azdī's house and discuss matters. Eventually, everyone adopted a different view: ʻAmr and Wāṣil became Muʻtazilites, Ibn Abī al-ʻAwjāʼ and Ṣāliḥ adhered to Dualism,[2] al-Azdī followed Hinduism (Sumniyya) and Bashshār remained uncertain.[3] Apart from these, Ṣāliḥ

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1. Nadīm, 401; Ibn Shākir, Fawāt al-Wafayāt, I, 391; Yāqūt, Udabāʼ, IV, 268; Ibn Ḥajar, Lisān al-Mīzān, III, 172; adh-Dhahabī, Mīzān al-Iʻtidāl, II, 297.

2. The edited text of The Dār al-Kutub reads فصحا التوبة but a variant is فصارا الى الثنوية Ibn Nubāta, who quoted the above account (probably from al-Aghānī), writes: فصارا الى الثنوية (Sarḥ al-ʻUyūn, 300).

3. Aghānī (D), III, 146.

had contact with people from other religions such as Ibn Ra's al-Jālūt a Jew, Ibn Naẓīr a Christian theologian and 'Amr b. Ukht al-Mu'ayyad a Zoroastrian.[4]

Of the disputations between Ṣāliḥ and the theologians, which would present a lucid picture of his beliefs, little has been recorded. He held one disputation on the question of Dualism and another about Light and Darkness and Mixture with Abū l-Hudhayl al-'Allāf, the Mu'tazilite theologian.[5] It is also recorded that when a son of Ṣāliḥ died, Abū l-Hudhayl and an-Naẓẓām found him very sad, and Abū l-Hudhayl addressed him saying: "There is no point in being sad, do not you believe that the human being is like a plant?" Ṣālih said: "My sorrow is not for his death, but because he died before he could read my K. ash-Shukūk, which encourages the reader to doubt even his own existence." An-Naẓẓām told him: "So, you should not therefore grieve for him, rather you should be doubtful about his being dead, or his reading your K. ash-Shukūk."[6] After quoting this account, Ibn Nubāta says that Ṣāliḥ was a follower of the Sophists and did not believe in absolute truth.[7] This is a point which has not been mentioned in the earlier sources, and Ibn Nubāta has apparently come to this conclusion from the above description of the K. ash-Shukūk.

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4. Ibn Taghrī Birdī, an-Nujūm az-Zāhira, II, 29.
5. Al-Murtaḍā, al-Amālī, I, 144.
6. Nadīm, 204.
7. Sarḥ al-'Uyūn, 227-8.

One could conceive the possibility that such a book contained philosophical discussions which could inevitably cast doubt on all beliefs, but it can hardly be claimed that K. as-Shukūk was a work of Sophist philosophy and that Ṣāliḥ was himself a Sophist. In the above account the reference to the human being's similarity to a plant probably refers to the Manichees' belief concerning the souls of plants.

Apart from his disputation with the theologians of Basra, Ṣāliḥ, as a preacher and religious story teller,[8] was also in contact with common people, and presumably, he had been preaching his ideas alongside with other ascetic and ethical themes, which can be seen in his poems.

The Dīwān of Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Quddūs apparently contained a large number of verses, for Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī says his Dīwān contains one thousand mathals of the Arabs and one thousand mathals of the 'Ajam,[9] but little survives.[10] I. Goldziher, who first collected Ṣāliḥ's

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8. Yāqūt, Udabā', IV, 268; Ibn Shākir, Fawāt al-Wafayāt, I, 391..

9. Cf. GAL, SI, 110.

10. An-Nadīm (p. 185) estimates his Dīwān as approximately 50 folios, and a page in his definition contains 20 lines (cf. Nadīm, 181), so Ṣāliḥ's Dīwān might have contained about 2,000 verses.

poems from various sources, published some of his verses in an article,[11] and later ʿA. al-Khaṭīb collected 338 verses and published them in a work on Ṣāliḥ.[12] All his surviving poems are imbued with a sense of morality and asceticism, either under the influence of Manichaean teaching or as a psychological reaction to contemporary socio-political events. Ṣāliḥ, the poet of despondency and despair, repeatedly advocates seclusion and isolation from people who for him are no better than wolves, dogs and donkeys.[13] He continually bemoans the calamities, adversities and misfortunes of the world,[14] the inequalities in society[15] and its poverty.[16] He maintains a preference for death over such a disastrous life.[17] He complains of the lack of morality among his fellow men, in particular the lies and hypocrisy which he himself had experienced,[18]

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11. I. Goldziher, 'Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs und der Zandiḳthum....', Transactions of the 9th International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1893, II, 104-129.
12. ʿAbd Allah al-Khaṭīb, Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Quddūs al-Baṣrī, Basra, 1967.
13. Ibid., no. 7; Goldziher, op. cit., no. 21.
14. Al-Khaṭīb, op. cit., no. 13.
15. Ibid., no. 9:9; Goldziher, no. 30:8.
16. Al-Khaṭib, no. 81; Goldziher, no. 18.
17. Al-Khaṭīb, no. 53; Goldziher, no. 2.
18. Al-Khaṭīb, nos. 17, 84.

and his continuous recommendation of silence and reservedness[19] is probably based on these experiences. On education he often points to the force of nature within the character of man and the difficulty of influencing his personality. A grown adult, he believes, cannot change his character for either good or bad, and he likens him to sea water which can never be sweet.[20] One should therefore strive to improve a person during his youth.[21]

On the question of predestination, a subject of some controversy in his time, he adopts the position that man cannot escape from fate,[22] and his success depends on jadd (good luck).[23] However, he notes that though sustenance and fortune are already predestined,[24] man should make every effort to earn his livelihood.[25] In another poem he is even more specific in his stance on predestination: not every sin one commits is the inevitable decree of fate,[26] and in more detail he argues in another poem that there are three possibilities governing the action of a sinner: either the Lord has

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19. Ibid., nos. 4, 10:41-42, 52:4, 70, 71, 72.

20. Ibid., no. 1:7-8; Goldziher, no. 39.

21. Al-Khaṭīb, nos. 25, 51:10-13, 45; Goldziher, nos. 6, 23:10-13, 31.

22. Al-Khaṭīb, nos. 2, 66; Goldziher, nos. 11, 32.

23. Al-Khaṭīb, nos. 9:11, 60; Goldziher, nos. 30:9, 37.

24. Al-Khaṭīb, nos. 1:6, 10:45-47.

25. Ibid., no. 10:55-56.

26. Ibid., no. 24.

predestined his act, in which case the blame is His not the man's, or the Lord has a part in his commission of sin, and He too shares the blame, or the Lord plays no part and man is a free agent in his action for which he is totally responsible.[27]

Apart from these didactical poems, we have nothing else by Ṣāliḥ[28] which might acquaint us with his beliefs.

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27. Al-Khaṭīb, no. 46.

28. Among the Arabic Christian literature, there is a small treatise entitled Qiṣṣat Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Quddūs ma'a ar-Rāhib aṣ-Ṣīnī (ed. by Isḥāq Armala, and published in al-Mashriq, XXIV(1926), pp. 819-829, 936), which claims to record a conversation between Ṣāliḥ and a Chinese monk about asceticism, worship and monasticism. The editor claims that Ṣāliḥ was a Christian, but there is no indication of his Christianity, apart from asceticism and monasticism, which could be common to the Christians, Manichees and Muslim Ṣūfīs. The style of the prose would suggest that it comes from a later period, and was probably written by a Christian. The choice of Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Quddūs as the principle person in the story is presumably based on Ṣāliḥ's fame for asceticism and the circulation of his didactical and ascetical poems, which could nevertheless have a source other than Christianity. But Ṣāliḥ's familiarity with Christianity is undeniable and as has been already mentioned, he

In general there is nothing in his poems to contradict the principles of Islam,[29] but he does hint at possible reasons for his silence about his own belief in the following lines:

"Many secrets I have hidden, quiet and silent
like a deaf mute
If I declare my religion (dīn) to the people,
the prison would be my place."[30]

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had contact with Ibn Naẓīr the Christian theologian (see above p. 202) and generally in Iraq of the 2nd century A.H. Christianity was quite widespread and well-known, so the similarity between a verse of Ṣāliḥ and a passage in the St. Matthew Gospel which was noted by I. Goldziher (op. cit., p. 115) is not strange.

29. There are two verses of his father - 'Abd al-Quddūs - recorded only by Abū l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī in his R. al-Ghufrān:

"How many a visitor hath Mecca brought to perdition! May God raze Mecca and her houses!"

"May the Merciful refuse sustenance to her living inhabitants, and may Mercy roast her dead in hell fire."

(R. al-Ghufrān, 428. Tr. by A. Nicholson, 'The Risālat ul Ghufrān' JRAS (1902) p. 337).

30. Al-Murtaḍā, al-Amālī, I, 145; Ibn al-Qāriḥ, 27.

We cannot help but entertain the possibility that the secrets to which he refers are his Manichaean beliefs or possibly political beliefs, especially in view of his reputation as a Dualist Manichee,[31] and his disputation with Abū l-Hudhayl al-'Allāf about the Light and Darkness.[32] This idea is reinforced in an account quoted by Ibn al-Mu'tazz, who admired his piousness and asceticism. He wrote that Ṣāliḥ and a group of literati gathered to recite poetry, and when the time of prayer came they all stood up to pray, and so did Ṣāliḥ. When asked "Why are you praying while your religion is different?" He replied "It is a custom of the city and a habit of the body."[33] Also his name is recorded by an-Nadīm (p. 401) among those who wrote books in support of Dualism.

In the year 167/783 during the persecution by the Caliph al-Mahdī, Ṣāliḥ was pursued and arrested on a charge of Zandaqa in Damascus, where he had gone either to propagate the faith or as a refugee. With him was 'Alī b. Khalīl, the poet, a close friend who was also arrested, but later on was exonerated and released.[34] A son of Ṣāliḥ, who according to Abū l-'Alā' endured a long term of imprisonment may well have been arrested on this occasion.[35] Ṣāliḥ was brought to a trial in which the

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31. 'Fa-kāna mutaẓāhiran bi-madhāhib ath-Thanawiyya' (al-Murtaḍā, loc. cit.).

32. Ibid., I, 144.

33. Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭabaqāt, 91.

34. Aghānī (B), XIII, 14.

35. R. al-Ghufrān, 429.

caliph himself took part, and was found guilty and executed, after which his crucified body was hung above a bridge in Baghdad.[36]

It is said that his arrest and trial was on a charge of Zandaqa, and this is very likely for it occurred during a period of persecution of the Zanādiqa (163-170/779-786).[37] Ibn al-Mu'tazz claims that the most damning evidence was some verses of Ṣāliḥ which alluded to the matter of the Prophet's marriage with Zaynab bint Jaḥsh, who was divorced from her husband; Ṣāliḥ however rejected their attribution to himself.[38] Another account by

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36. Al-Khaṭīb, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, IX, 303

37. Al-Ya'qūbī, at-Ta'rīkh, III, 133. The account recorded by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (Aghānī (D) XIV, 174) and Ibn al-Mu'tazz (in one of his accounts: Ṭabaqāt ash-Shu'arā' 90), which dated the execution to the caliphate of ar-Rashīd (170-193/786-809), contradicts the more acceptable view of the majority of historians.

38. Ṭabaqāt as-Shu'arā', 90-91; cf. al-Khaṭīb, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, IX, 303. It should be mentioned here that poets sometimes wrote verses on sensitive political subjects or the satirising of important figures, and published them attributing their authorship to rival poets, an example of which is the satire about the Imām Alī composed by the poet az-Zunbūr and attributed to Abū Nuwās (Ibn Manẓūr, Akhbār Abī Nuwās, II, 84-85).

al-Mubarrad (210-285/825-898) tells us that the principle evidence presented by the prosecution was those two verses of Ṣāliḥ in which he confessed to hiding his belief,[39] the authorship of which Ṣāliḥ did not deny, but claimed in his defence that he had once been a Zindīq and had since repented of it.[40] The caliph was impressed by Ṣāliḥ's deep and broad knowledge and his eloquence, and ordered his release, but later suddenly changed his mind and ordered his execution. It is said that this change of mind was brought about by Ṣāliḥ's confession that he had composed the following lines:

> "The old man cannot leave his character as
> long as the dust of a tomb does not
> cover him.
> Even if he is frightened thereof, he
> returns to his foolishness, just as
> a sick man will suffer a relapse of
> his disease."[41]

An account quoted by al-Murtaḍā says that during his trial, al-Mahdī threw a book to him and told him to read it. Ṣāliḥ asked the nature of the book and was informed that it was the book of Zandaqa (Kitāb az-Zandaqa). Ṣāliḥ

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39. See above, p. 207.

40. Al-Murtaḍā, al-Amālī, I, 100; cf. Ibn al-Qāriḥ in R. al-Ghufrān, 27.

41. Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭabaqāt, 91; al-Khaṭīb, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, IX, 303.

then said: "If I read it, would the Amīr al-mu'minīn recognise it?" The caliph responded that he would not, to which Ṣāliḥ is supposed to have replied: "So, you are killing me for the thing you do not know." When the caliph shifted his position, claiming to know the book, Ṣāliḥ said: "You know it without being Zindīq, so I will read it without being a Zindīq."[42] The authenticity of this account which is only found in al-Amālī of al-Murtaḍā is questionable, for how could a blind person like Ṣāliḥ read?[43] Nor do we know the nature of this K. az-Zanādiqa. Was it a Manichaean book possessed by Ṣāliḥ and was it taken as evidence?

We cannot dismiss the question of Ṣāliḥ's trial without noting the possibility that his arrest was motivated by political expedience. Ṣāliḥ may well have angered the authorities by criticism, after being disappointed by the Abbasid revolution which he had fervently supported.[44] However, this assumption in the absence of supporting evidence remains the object of speculation. Nevertheless, his belief in Manichaeism or a tendency towards it, which is supported by evidence, seems to be beyond doubt.

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42. Al-Amālī, I, 100.

43. A. al-Khaṭīb, Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Quddūs, 90.

44. For his contacts with Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī cf. Muḥammad b. al-Mudabbir, Risālat al-'Adhrā', M. Kurd 'Alī (ed.), Rasā'il al-Bulaghā', 249.

b. The Zandaqa of Bashshār b. Burd

Bashshār b. Burd (95-167/714-783) is the most famous of Zindīq poets whose Zandaqa is said to have cost him his life. In order to understand the circumstances surrounding his execution, we must examine his particular Zandaqa on the light of his religio-political beliefs.

Apart from his status as a poet, Bashshār was also a well-known figure in the intellectual circles of Basra during its golden age as a centre of theological activities of the Mu'tazilite and other groups. An account quoted by al-Isfahānī says that there were six theologians (aṣhāb al-kalām) in Basra: ʿAmr b. 'Ubayd, Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā', Bashshār, Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Quddūs, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Abī al-'Awjā' and Jarīr b. Ḥāzim al-Azdī. They used to gather in the house of al-Azdī to discuss theology and they developed different views, about which Bashshār is reported to have been confused (mutaḥayyir).[1] Bashshār in fact maintained good relations with the Mu'tazilite leader Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā', and his respect for him is reflected in some panegyric poems;[2] but eventually, on account of some ideological differences, their relationship broke down and Bashshār was anathematized by Wāṣil,[3] in response to which Bashshār wrote some satires.[4]

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1. Aghānī (D), III, 146-147.
2. Dīwān, IV, 13-15, 52-53; Bayān, I, 24.
3. Aghānī (D), III, 146; Nadīm, 202.
4. Dīwān, IV, 31; Aghānī (D), III, 145; Bayān, I, 16.

He was sent into exile from Basra by Wāṣil and ʻAmr b. ʻUbayd, and was not able to return until the death of the latter (144/761).[5]

Concerning the current theological problem of free-will and predestination, Bashshār seems to have been inclined to the latter. "All my behaviour" he says "is innate and not of my choice. If I were free to choose, I would have been a perfect person. But I will and I am not given, and I am given what I do not will. The limited knowledge of mine does not touch the divine secrets, and at the end of the day I am given nothing but perplexity."[6]

Bashshār, according to al-Jāḥiẓ, anathematized all the Companions including ʻAlī, and when he was asked about the latter, he indicated, quoting a verse of ʻAmr b. Kulthūm, that he was not less exempt from blame.[7]

Among the surviving works of Bashshār there is no verse which supports the claim of al-Jāḥiẓ, but a poet contemporary to Bashshār, Ṣafwān al-Anṣārī, in a qaṣīda refuting Bashshār's ideas, draws attention to his view of the Companions:

> "Do you satirize Abū Bakr and after him
> dismiss ʻAlī, Ascribing all to Burd?"[8]

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5. Bayān, I, 25.
6. Aghānī (D), III, 227.
7. Bayān, I, 16; Aghānī (D), III, 146, 224.
8. Bayān, I, 29, l. 11.

Such an idea was embraced by a sect of Extremists (Ghulāt), called the Kāmiliyya, the followers of a certain Abū Kāmil, about whom and about the sect itself little is known. They believed that "all the Companions became apostates after the death of the Prophet by disclaiming the Imamate of ʻAlī and that the latter, too, became an apostate by conceding the rule first to Abū Bakr then to ʻUmar then to ʻUthmān."[9] The heresiographer ʻAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), accounted Bashshār among the Kāmiliyya,[10] but there is no such statement in the earlier sources, despite the obvious similarity between the doctrine of the Kāmiliyya and the view of Bashshār. In the above-mentioned qaṣīda, Ṣafwān al-Anṣārī hinted at Bashshār's leanings to an extremist sect but does not mention the Kāmiliyya. He says:

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9. Cf. al-Ashʻarī, Maqālat, I, 17; ash-Shahristānī, 133; Ibn Ḥazm, al-Faṣl , IV, 183; al-Baghdādī, al-Farq, 39; Israel Friedlaender, 'The Heterodoxies of Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Ḥazm', JAOS, XXVIII (1907) 55-80. According to ash-Shahristānī (p. 133) they also believed in the doctrine of tanāsukh and the transmigration of the light (nūr) of the Imamate through the succession of Imams.

10. Al-Farq, 39.

"Do you boast of al-Mīlā' and the infidel ʿĀṣim?
And ridicule the neck[11] of Abu l-Ja'd /Wāṣil/?[12]

The identity of ʿĀṣim is unknown to us, but al-Mīlā' was the leader of an extremist sect who practised terrorism, and her name along with that of Ḥamīda is recorded as heading a group of this kind in a poem of Ḥammād 'Ajrad.[13] She was the nursemaid of Abū Manṣūr al-'Ijlī, the leader of the Manṣūriyya, an extremist terrorist sect.[14] In the qaṣīda of Ṣafwān there is an allusion to Laylā an-Nā'iẓiyya,

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11. This refers to a satire composed by Bashshār against Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' whose long neck was notorious. Cf. Bayān, I, 16.
12. Bayān, I, 29, l. 6.
13. Ḥayawān, II, 266.
14. Ibid., 266, 268. Abū Manṣūr al-'Ijlī, the leader of the Manṣūriyya, was executed by Yūsuf b. 'Umar ath-Thaqafī, the governor of Iraq (121-127/738-744). For the doctrine of the Manṣūriyya see an-Nawbakhtī, Firaq ash-Shī'a, 34-35; al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt, I, 9-10; ash-Shahristānī, 135-136; 'Abbās Iqbāl, Khānadān-i Nawbakhtī, 261-262; William Tucker, 'Abū Manṣūr al-'Ijlī and the Manṣūriyya', Der Islam, LIV (1977), 66-76.

another leader of the extremists.[15] However, we have no information about the doctrine of these groups. Whether their doctrine was similar to that of the Manṣūriyya is not certain. However, the Manṣūriyya differed from the Kāmiliyya in their beliefs regarding the Companions and 'Alī; to the latter a prophetic status was given, while they regarded their opponents as kāfir and mushrik against whom they should fight.[16] Nevertheless, these tiny extremist groups were not too sharply divided amongst themselves, and sometimes joined together,[17] and it would be reasonable to presume that Bashshār, despite his tendency towards some of the doctrines of the Kāmiliyya, was familiar with certain figures among the other extremists as well.

The idea of Raj'a (Return) is attributed to him

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15. Bayān, I, 30. Cf. Ḥayawān, II, 268; al-Bukhalā', 37. In the latter 'an-Nā'iṭiyya' instead of 'an-Nā'iẓiyya' is recorded which is, according to T. al-Ḥājirī the editor (al-Bukhalā', 301), related to 'an-Nā'iṭ',an ancient castle in Yemen, while 'Abd as-Salām Hārūn the editor of al-Bayān and al-Ḥayawān preferred 'an-Na'iẓiyya' attributed to an-Nā'iẓ,a sub-branch of an Arab tribe.
16. Cf. an-Nawbakhtī, Firaq ash-Shī'a, 34.
17. For instance, some of the Mughīriyya after the death of their leader al-Mughīra b. Sa'īd, joined the Manṣūriyya. See W. Turker, op. cit., 68.

by al-Jāḥiẓ,[18] while that of metempsychosis (tanāsukh) is attributed to him by Ṣafwān al-Anṣārī.[19] Both these ideas were common tenets among the Ghulāt (extremist).[20] Although there is no trace of these ideas in the extant works of Bashshār, there seems no reason to doubt the accusations levelled against him in the refutation of his views by Ṣafwān.

His leaning to Shiism is also supported by a qaṣīda he wrote in praise of the Alid Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh, who rebelled in Basra in the year 145/762.[21] This qaṣīda, which was quickly altered and dedicated to the Caliph al-Manṣūr soon after the defeat of Ibrāhīm (Dhū-l-Ḥijja 145/

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18. Bayān, I, 24; Aghānī (D), III, 146, 224. Raj'a (Return) refers to the belief in the return of the Prophet and the Imams to this world before the Last Day. For detailed study cf. I. Friendlaender, op. cit., XXI (1908), 23-30.

19. Bayān, I, 30, l. 1.

20. Raj'a and Tanāsukh, together with Tashbīh (anthropomorphism) and Badā' (i.e. 'pleasing', if anything pleases God, he may change a previous decision) were the four common tenets of the Ghulāt (ash-Shahristānī, 133).

21. See Ṭabarī, III, 189 seq; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāya, X, 87-95.

Feb. 763),[22] would, as a political qaṣīda, presumably indicate Bashshār's negative attitude towards the early Abbasids as well as his opportunism.

Among the anecdotes quoted by al-Iṣfahānī, there are some which refer to his Shiism.[23] Nevertheless, despite the views of some modern scholars who are inclined to account Bashshār an adherent of the extremist Kāmiliyya,[24] his religious position seems somewhat unsteady, in the light of other accounts. But it would be conceivable that Bashshār, for a period, was attracted by the Extremists or at least by some of their doctrines.[25]

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22. Aghānī (D), III, 29, 156; Dīwān, IV, 167-174. Among other changes the agnomen of the caliph (Abū Manṣūr) who was the subject of Bashshār's satire and criticism, was changed to 'Abū Muslim', referring to Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī, who had been executed by al-Manṣūr eight years previously (131/754).

23. On one occasion the jurisprudent Ḥilāl b. Yaḥyā jokingly told Bashshār "You used to steal donkeys, then you repented and became a Rafiḍī. I recommend you to return to theft, which is better than Rafḍ for you." (Aghānī (D), III, 168).

24. C. Pellat, Le milieu basrien et la formation de Gāḥiẓ, 178, 201.

25. A statement by Ibn Nubāta claims that Bashshār later left the idea of Raj'a and adapted Dualism (Sarḥ al-'Uyūn, 301).

However, most of the anecdotes and statements concerning Bashshār give the impression that he had in his time the reputation of being merely impious and irreligious, a Zindīq, rather than a Shiite.

Manichaeism has been also attributed to Bashshār, and his name is recorded among the Manichaean Zindīqs by an-Nadīm.[26] A tradition recorded by al-Mubarrad reports that someone taking Bashshār for a dualist (Manichee), asked him whether he ate meat, which was against his religion.[27] In response to a satire written by Bashshār against Ḥammād 'Ajrad, the latter said that Bashshār had pretended to know nothing about Zandaqa, though he had been more knowledgeable than Mani about it.[28] However, none of these accounts can be taken as evidence for Bashshār's adherence to Manichaeism, of which there is no trace in his work. Ironically, in his epigrams on Ḥammād 'Ajrad, Bashshār blames him for being a Dualist.[29] Bashshār also criticizes Ibn Abī l-'Awjā' as a Zindīq and an irreligious person.[30]

Among the evidence for Bashshār's impiety the most celebrated is the verse which refers to the superiority

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26. Nadīm, 401.

27. Al-Kāmil, 546; al-Murtaḍā, Amālī, I, 100; Ibn Nubāta, Sarḥ al-'Uyūn, 301.

28. Aghānī (B), XIII, 76. Cf. below p. 240.

29. Ibid., XII, 71, 73. Cf. below p. 240.

30. Ibid (D), III, 147.

of the Fire:

"The Earth is dark and Fire is resplendent
The Fire has been worshipped from the time
that it existed."[31]

In his qaṣīda, Ṣafwān al-Anṣārī, the Mu'tazilite poet, refutes this idea in detail and defends the superiority of the Earth which contains mines and other gifts of God.[32]

Being written by a contemporary of Bashshār, this refutation appears to confirm the authenticity of the above verse, upon which some modern scholars have cast doubt.[33] In another poem Bashshār proves the superiority of Satan to Adam according to the same principle:

"Iblīs is superior to your father Adam
Do realize O ye libertines
Iblīs was created from fire and Adam from clay
And the Earth is not as high as Fire."

Being only recorded by a later author, Abū l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (363-449/973-1057), the authenticity of the poem is open to doubt.[34]

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31. Bayān, I, 16; Aghānī (D), III, 145; al-Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, II, 23.

32. Bayān, I, 27-29, 32.

33. Cf. Ibn 'Āshūr, Dīwān Bashshār, I, 24; IV, 78.

34. R. al-Ghufrān, 302; Dīwān, IV, 78. These verses are not recorded by al-Jāḥiẓ, a fact which is evidence in support of our doubt, since as a Mu'tazilite al-Jāḥiẓ should have mentioned them in order to

Although the verse concerning the superiority of the Fire is a single verse and we do not know in which context it was composed, it was not, however, composed just for a poetical amusement as a kind of literary dialogue between the Fire and the Earth. It does bear a religious connotation which implies the justification of Satan's argument against Adam, which is regarded as an affront by Muslims. Thus the Mu'tazilite poet Ṣafwān felt obliged to undertake the task of refutation in order to defend the Faith. In any case, however, this verse does not have any Manichaean connotation and it could hardly be taken as evidence in support of Bashshār's alleged tendency towards Iranian Shu'ūbism or Zoroastrianism, because the cosmogony of the latter does not maintain the superiority of Ahrīman (Iblīs) to Adam, and the earth is also regarded as sacred. Taking other verses and accounts into consideration, it would be more reasonable to presume that it was the misanthropy and anti-establishment ideas of Bashshār which made him write such a verse rather than any leanings towards Zoroastrianism.

Apart from these verses, there are some accounts

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discredit Bashshār the opponent of the Mu'tazilites. In the places in which al-Jāḥiẓ says Bashshār "justified Iblīs" (Bayān, I, 27, 31), he is probably referring to the verse about the superiority of Fire, which would imply the superiority of Iblīs.

of his religious practices: he did not make the canonical prayers[35] and judged certain verses of his to be superior to the Koranic verses.[36] To divert from himself the suspicion of Zandaqa, he went on the pilgrimage in the company of Sa'd b. Qa'qā', who was also accused of Zandaqa, and stopped at Zurāra and passed the time in drinking. On the return of the pilgrims, the two companions, making a pretence of returning from the pilgrimage, rejoined the pilgrims at Qādisiyya and received their congratulations.[37] Another account characterises Bashshār as only believing what he sees with his eyes.[38] He also ridiculed the Koranic verses concerning the Resurrection.[39] However these accounts should be treated with extreme caution as evidence for the beliefs of Bashshār.

Politically speaking, Bashshār did not have any fixed opinions. During the Umayyad period he wrote many panegyric poems on Umayyad governors such as Sulaymān b.

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35. Aghānī (D), III, 222.

36. Ibid., 211.

37. Ibid., 185. It is noteworthy that a similar story is attributed to Muṭī' b. Iyās and Yaḥyā b. Ziyād (Aghānī (D), XIII, 299).

According to another account Bashshār accompanied the Caliph al-Manṣūr on the pilgrimage (Aghānī (D), III, 178-179).

38. Aghānī (D), III, 227.

39. Ibid., 160.

Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, the governor of Ḥarrān,[40] Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra, the governor of Iraq,[41] and even the last caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad.[42] In the early years of the Abbasids he was not close to the court, and he probably disagreed with the Abbasid revolution in that he supported the rebellion of the Alid Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh and criticized the Abbasid caliph. In the reign of al-Mahdī (158-169/775-785), however, he praised the caliph in many panegyric poems,[43] and received rewards from him.[44] In his panegyrics, Bashshār, accommodating himself to caliphal policy, describes al-Mahdī as the 'Saviour Mahdī', over-praises 'Abbās, the ancestor of the Abbasids, and pays great attention to Mūsā al-Hādī's succession to the throne.[45]

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40. Dīwān, I, 291-303; Aghānī (D), III, 217.

41. Dīwān, I, 145; Aghānī (D), III, 236-237.

42. Dīwān, II, 306-323.

43. Ibid., I, 257, 275-278, 323-332; II, 24-27, 83-90, 277-296, 297-301; III, 70-75, 272-290.

44. Cf. Aghānī (D), III, 213.

45. Cf. Fārūq 'Umar, 'Ḥawl Zandaqat Bashshār', al-Mawrid, V (1976), no. 4, p. 24. Regarding the succession to the throne after al-Mahdī, his cousin 'Isā b. Mūsā was appointed by al-Manṣūr, but in the year 160/776 he was replaced by Mūsā al-Hādī, the son of al-Mahdī.

Furthermore, Bashshār admires al-Mahdī's policy of persecuting and executing of the Zindīqs:

> "He shed the blood of those who are
> unwilling to accept guidance.
> Like the roaring water from the bend
> of the valley."[46]

However, apart from his support of the Alid Ibrāhīm, Bashshār did not engage in any political activities. His Shu'ūbism, as has already been discussed, was mainly cultural rather than political.

After this brief survey of the religio-political views of Bashshār, we must return to the question of the kind of Zandaqa of which he was accused. The evidence that he was a Manichee, part of which is unreliable, is not sufficient. On the other hand his Zandaqa was not simply profligacy (mujūn). From the ideological point of view, Bashshār seems not to have been a convinced believer, and probably the description of Sa'd b. Sallām, that Bashshār was a sceptic and confused (mutaḥayyir and mukhallit),[47] is not far from the truth. None of the theological trends of Basra could convince him, although some of them apparently attracted him for a period. However, he does not seem to have been a faithful practising Muslim, and those few verses which refer to and support Islamic dogma are partly composed in panegyrical poems extolling the

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46. Dīwān, II, 86.

47. Aghānī (D), III, 146.

caliphs' actions.[48] Thus, the Zandaqa of Bashshār seems mainly to have been based on his general scepticism, while at times he had a tendency to the doctrines of Manichaeism, the Ghulāt and the likes, at least according to those who satirised him. But it can hardly be accepted that the accusation of Zandaqa which was levelled against him was a political accusation, as it is suggested by F. 'Umar.[49] There are, in fact, two different questions in the discussion about the Zandaqa of Bashshār, which have been confused as a result of their close connection, one being his reputation as a Zindīq, and the other his execution on a charge of Zandaqa. Considering the second fact first it can be said that Bashshār was executed for certain personal and political reasons, but that this does not necessarily imply that he did not have a reputation for Zandaqa. Like many others, Bashshār was known as a Zindīq, but, unlike most of them, due to some personal factors he was executed.

The execution of Bashshār was based on personal hostility between him and the Vizier Ya'qūb b. Dā'ūd on account of certain epigrams written by Bashshār[50] against

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48. Referring for example to the Resurrection and the Judgement (Ibn Qutayba, ash-Shi'r, II, 707; Bayān III, 118; Dīwān, IV, 152) or the graciousness of God (Dīwān, IV, 114).

49. Op. cit., 25.

50. Dīwān, III, 93-94; IV, 45; Aghānī (D), III, 243, 245. Ironically, Ya'qūb b. Dā'ūd used to be a zealous

Ya'qūb and his brother Ṣāliḥ, the governor of Basra.[51] In a satire which was composed during the zenith of the power of the vizier,[52] Bashshār called upon the Umayyads to regain their lost caliphate under the rule of Ya'qūb.[53] The reputation of Bashshār, who was known as an impious Zindīq and was hated by the Mu'tazilites and the most of the Basrans for his satires and immoral poems,[54] gave an

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follower of the Alid Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allah and his brother Muḥammad an-Nafs az-Zakiyya. He played an important role in the rebellion of Basra in 145/762 and after its defeat, was put in prison by al-Manṣūr. His imprisonment lasted ten years until 158/774 when he was released by al-Mahdī. Cf. al-Jahshiyārī, 155; Ṭabarī, III, 507.

51. Ṭabarī, III, 538; Aghānī (D), III, 245.

52. The power of Ya'qūb began in 163/779 when he replaced Abū 'Ubayd Allāh al-Muriyānī, and lasted until 166/782, the year of his dismissal and imprisonment. Cf. al-Jahshiyārī, 155-162.

53. Aghānī (D), III, 243, 245; Dīwān, IV, 45.

54. Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' regarded the words of Bashshār as satanic and seductive (Aghānī (D), III, 249) and once he said that if assassination had not been a practice of the Extremists (Ghulāt), he would have plotted his assassination (ibid., III, 146; Nadīm, 202). Bashshār was once forbidden to compose erotic poems by al-Mahdī (Aghānī (D), III, 212, 221, 222, 234, 239; Dīwān, II, 107; al-Marzubānī, Nūr al-Qabas, 118.

opportunity to his enemies . In the year 167/783 during the persecution he was arrested in Basra and flogged to death . According to a tradition he became a victim of the venegeance of Ya'qūb b. Da'ūd[55] . Another tradition reports that al-Mahdī, exasperated by a satire against him, went to Basra and ordered his execution.[56] But the first version, which along with the others has been examined by G. Vajda, is more probable.[57] In any case, even in the second version, the role of Ya'qūb in provoking the caliph by a satire, which might have been fabricated, is not to be ignored.

Bashshār's execution did not evoke any sympathy among his fellow citizens of Basra, who hated their misanthropic and scurrilous poet.[58] However, Bashshār was executed not for his Zandaqa but on account of personal hostility which had been caused by his satire, and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn rightly mentions that this satire killed Bashshār.[59]

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55. Al-Jahshiyārī, 158; Aghānī (D), III, 245.

56. Aghānī (D), III, 243-244.

57. 'Les Zindīq en pays d'Islam', RSO, XVIII (1938), 202.

58. Aghānī (D), III, 248.

59. Ḥadīth al-Arbi'ā', II, 211.

c. Abān al-Lāḥiqī

Abān b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Lāḥiqī (d.c. 200/815-6), the early Abbasid poet celebrated for his versification of K. Kalīla wa-Dimna, was also accused of being a Zindīq and Manichaean by his contemporaries. In a lampoon, al-Mu'adhdhal b. Ghaylān, having broken off his friendship with Abān, indicated his surprise at seeing him pray on the Yawm al-Fiṭr: "How does one pray, who is dark-hearted and an adherent of Mani?"[1] The same accusation was voiced by his contemporary and rival Abū Nuwās, in a poem:

"One day I was sitting with Abān - may he be
deprived of his Lord's mercy -
We were in the portico of the governor's
Palace at an-Nahrawān
When the mid-day prayer drew near, someone
proclaimed the adhān in a clear and
melodious tone.
We continued to repeat what he said until
the end of adhān.
Seeing this, Abān said: 'How without seeing
God, can you bear witness to these things.
I would never say it until I have seen Him
with my eyes.'
I said: 'Glory be to my Lord.' He said:
'Glory be to Mani.'
I said: ''Īsā is the apostle of God.' He
said: ''Īsa is the apostle of Satan.'
I said: 'Mūsā conversed with God.' He said:
In that case your Lord has eyes and tongue.'

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1. Aghānī (B), XX, 74.

'And was he created without a creator? If
not, then who created Him?'
Hearing this blasphemy, I got away from the
infidel who doubted God's existence.
Who sets as his model profligates like 'Ajrad,
'Ubāda Wāliba, Qāsim, Muṭī' and other such."[2]

In this poem the erroneous accusation is made that Manichaeans denied and insulted Jesus Christ, who in fact was a figure held in high regard by the Manichees. Al-Jāḥiẓ, after quoting the poem, pointed out this mistake and indicated his surprise that a person such as Abū Nuwās, who had been familiar with theologians and theological questions, should make such a mistake.[3] When we consider that there was a Manichaean presence in Iraq and that their doctrines were widely disputed in intellectual circles, we should be surprised that Abū Nuwās should fall into such a fundamental error as that of ascribing the denial of Christ to a Manichaean. This contradiction can be reconciled if we assume that Abū Nuwās intentionally accused Abān of insulting Jesus in order to strengthen his satire and to provoke both Muslims and Christians against him. Lines six and seven of the above poem in which the existence of an invisible God is denied, were presumably written for the same purpose since this too is not a Manichaean idea.

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2. Abū Nuwās, Dīwān, ed. al-Ghazzālī, 543-544; al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Ḥayawān, IV, 499-450; Aghānī (B), XX, 73.
3. Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Ḥayawān, IV, 450-451. See Appendix C.

However, even when we discount the element of hyperbole and make allowance for the personal rivalry between Abān and Abū Nuwās,[4] we cannot disregard the fact

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4. There was great hostility and rivalry between Abān and Abū Nuwās, and many satires and polemic poems (naqā'iḍ) were written by them against each other. Abān was appointed by the Barmakids as Assessor of Poets whose function was to assess the panegyrics composed in honour of the House of Barmak and to choose suitable poems and assess their rewards. In this post, Abān discriminated against Abū Nuwās, who was deprived of the rewards of the Barmakids. Abū Nuwās retaliated by composing a satire against Abān (Abū Hiffān, Akhbār Abī Nuwās, 18; al-Jahshiyārī, al-Wuzarā' wa-l-Kuttāb, 211; aṣ-Ṣūlī, al-Awrāq, 33; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farīd, III, 32-33). Even when Aḥmad b. Sayyār al-Jurjānī was the Assessor of Poets, Abān and other rivals of Abū Nuwās, such as Dā'ūd b. Razīn, Muslim b. al-Walīd and Ashja' as-Sulamī, persuaded him to criticise Abū Nuwās' poems and deprive him of any reward (al-Jahshiyārī, al-Wuzarā', 192). An account quoted by Ibn al-Mu'tazz from Abū Hiffān says that the cause of hostility between Abān and Abū Nuwās was the competition for the task of versifying the K. Kalīla wa Dimna, for which task Abū Nuwās had been nominated (Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭabaqāt ash-Shu'arā', 241).

that the poems of al-Mu'dhdhal and Abū Nuwās do suggest that Abān had acquired a reputation as being an adherent of Manichaeism or at least having a tendency towards it. Even after his lifetime, the true belief of Abān was subjected to question and discussion in the literary circles of Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 210/825), Ibn 'Ā'isha (d. 228/843) and ar-Riyāshī (d. 257/870).[5] In a chapter on the Zanādiqa, al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868) makes no attempt to deny Abān's reputation of being Manichaean and even confirms it.[6] Aṣ-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946) dedicated a chapter of his work, al-Awrāq, to the belief of Abān.[7]

Although Abān has been considered a prolific poet (mukthir),[8] the portion of his Dīwān and treatises [9]

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5. Aṣ-Ṣūlī, al-Awrāq, 37-38.

6. Al-Ḥayawān, IV, 451.

7. Al-Awrāq, 37-38.

8. Nadīm, 186.

9. Abān was a pioneer in the versifications of books and treatises such as: K. Kalīla wa-Dimna, K. Bilawhar wa Budhāsaf, K. Sindbād, K. Mazdak, K. Sīrat Ardashīr, K. Sīrat Anūshīrwān, K. al-Rasā'il, K. aṣ-Ṣiyām wa-l-I'tikāf (or: wa-z-Zakāt), K. Ḥilm al-Hind (Nadīm, 132, 186; aṣ-Ṣūlī, al-Awrāq, 51), K. Adab Ibn al-Muqaffa' and K. al-Manṭīq (aṣ-Ṣūlī, al-Awrāq, 39). Most of these works were versified from the Arabic translations of Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Apart from 27 verses of K. aṣ-Ṣiyām and 66 verses of Kalīla wa-Dimna, which was originally 14000 (or: 5000 according to Ibn al-Mu'tazz) verses, none of these books have survived.

which has survived is unfortunately so small that it cannot serve as a basis for judgment about his beliefs. Aṣ-Sūlī (d. 335/946) who is apparently the earliest author to compile all the accounts about Abān and his poetry, has recorded 558 of his verses,[10] 66 of which are from Kalīla wa Dimna and 27 from K. aṣ-Ṣiyām wa-z-Zakāt,[11] and this remains the most complete record of Abān's poetry.[12]

In these surviving poems, there is no implication or hint of Manichaeism, nor any blasphemy or attack on Islamic principles, neither is there any trace of the profligate literature (mujūniyyāt) which can be found in the works of some Abbasid poets. It would, therefore, seem that zandaqa, in the case of Abān, does not imply profligacy (mujūn), and he himself claims, in one poem, that he is a moderate person, being neither a strict ascetic nor a wanton and profligate.[13]

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10. Aṣ-Ṣūlī, al-Awrāq, 1-52.

11. Ibid., 46-52.

12. Al-Awrāq has attracted the attention of Arabists as an authentic and comprehensive source about Abān. A. Krymski published the part of al-Awrāq related to Abān (Moscow, 1914), and K.A. Fariq's article ('The poetry of Abān al-Lāḥiqī', JRAS (1952) pp. 46-59) is almost an English translation of the same material.

13. Dīwan Abī Nuwās, ed. Wagner, I, 25.

While Manichaeism or Zandaqa (in its specific meaning of Manichaeism) does not find any reflection in the surviving works of Abān, he was, nevertheless, accused of Manichaeism by his contemporaries. It is probable that Abān's own beliefs had only a tendency towards Manichaeism, or even more generally, towards Gnosticism. The versification of K. Mazdak[14] and Kalīla wa-Dimna, a chapter of which contains some Manichaean ideas,[15] can only have lent support to the accusation.

It may be assumed that K. aṣ-Ṣiyām wa z-Zakāt (or:

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14. K. Mazdak or Mazdaknāma (= Mazdaknāmak), was a book about Mazdak, which was translated from Pahlavi into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa', and versified by Abān from the Arabic text (Nadīm, 132, 186), but nothing has survived of either. Classifying the sources about Mazdak, A. Christensen reckons this lost Mazdaknāma as a story book or popular history of Mazdak, a work like Kārnāma Ardashīr and Yādigār-i Zarīrān, and assumed that it was a source of Niẓām al-Mulk's account about Mazdak in his Siyāsat-nama. A. Christensen, Le règne du roi Kawadh i et le communisme Mazdakite (København, 1925), 66; Persian tr. p. 74.

15. The chapter of Burzūya is said to have been written by Ibn al-Muqaffa' himself. Al-Bīrūnī claims that Ibn al-Muqaffa' wrote this chapter in order to spread doubt about dominant religions and to propagate indirectly Manichaeism (Chronologie, 76). This idea

wa l-I'tikāf), of which 27 verses have been preserved by aṣ-Ṣūlī[16] were composed by Abān in an attempt to refute the common reputation he had acquired. One could suggest also that his confession of the Unity of God and the Mission of Muḥammad in the introduction of K. Kalīla wa-Dimna[17] and in a qaṣīda[18] were inspired by the same motive. We have accounts about his reciting the Qur'ān and praying while refusing to join the Barmakids' wine-drinking banquet;[19] such accounts can be accepted, if

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has been accepted by some contemporary scholars such as A. Iqbāl (Ibn al-Muqaffa') and F. Gabrieli, "L'opera d'ibn al-Muqaffa'," RSO, XIII (1932), 197-247; Arabic tr. A. Badawī, Min Ta'rīkh al-Ilḥād fi l-Islām, 40-53, and rejected by P. Kraus (RSO, XIV (1933) Ar. tr. A. Badawī, op. cit., 54-64). Whether either completely written by Ibn al-Muqaffa' or partly altered and added to by him, the chapter of Burzūya does contain some sceptical views and does present some Manichaean ideas.

16. Al-Awrāq, 51-52.

17. Ibid., 48.

18. Ibid., 38.

19. Ibid., 37-38.

they are sound, as not conflicting with his general tendency towards Gnosticism and asceticism, if we accept that Abān's Manichaeism was not more than the intellectual influence of Manichaean doctrine and a tendency towards Gnosticism. Abū 'Ubayda's account which claims that Abān and his family were Jews seems groundless, being based on personal hostility and seeking revenge on Abān, who had accused Abū 'Ubayda of forging and vilification of genealogies.[20]

Present contemporary assessments are no less controversial. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn presents Abān as a hypocritical Shu'ūbī, who held a deep hostility towards the Arabs and aspired to a revival of Iranian splendour and magnificence.[21] As there is no trace of a tendency towards the Shu'ūbīs in Abān's surviving poems, it is difficult to uphold this claim. Abān's regard for Persian culture and his versification of some Iranian works cannot, in themselves, be accepted as supporting evidence. His adherence or tendency towards Manichaeism could not be ascribed to his being a Shu'ūbī; these two movements are more or less unconnected as we have demonstrated above (p. 161 seq.).

Abān was one of the fortunate Zanādiqa who was never subjected to persecution. During the reign of ar-Rashīd, he held the status of Nadīm and poet to the

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20. Ibid., 36; Aghānī (B), XX, 78.

21. Ḥadīth al-Arbi'ā', II, 214.

Barmakids,[22] and enjoyed their patronage and received great rewards,[23] and was even appointed Assessor of the Poets.[24] Furthermore, Abān had good relations with the Caliphal Palace, so that he never composed any verse hostile to Abbasid policy, and even wrote some qaṣīdas in praise of the Abbasid victory over the 'Alids.[25] He even composed a qaṣīda in which he argued that the 'Alids had no legitimate claim to the caliphate, pointing out that 'Abbās was nearer to the Prophet than 'Alī.[26] We can presume that such political subservience would have rendered him immune to persecution as a Zindīq.

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22. Abū Hiffān, Akhbār Abī Nuwās, 18. He accompanied the Barmakids even on their military expeditions such as Faḍl b. Yaḥyā's campaign to Rayy to extinguish the rebellion of Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Alawī in the year 176 (aṣ-Ṣūlī, al-Awrāq, 15).

23. For the versification of K. Kalīla wa-Dimna, which took three (or four) months, he gained a reward of 10,000 Dīnārs (or 100,000 Dirhams) from Yaḥyā b. Khālid and 5,000 Dīnārs from Faḍl b. Yaḥyā (al-Khaṭīb, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, VII, 44; Aghānī, XX, 73; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭabaqāt, 241).

24. See above p. 230 .

25. Aṣ-Ṣūlī, al-Awrāq, 14, 18, 19, 21, 22.

26. Ibid., 14.

d. Ḥammād ʿAjrad

One of the most celebrated Zindīqs in the literary circles of the second century A.H. is Ḥammad ʿAjrad, a Kūfī mawlā[1] who started his career as a tutor (muʿallim or muʾaddib), and later as a secretary (kātib) and boon-companion (nadīm) attached to the courts of the Umayyads and Abbasids. Among the group of poets known as mujjān and Zindīqs, he was a prominent figure, and many anecdotes are recorded about his relationship with the Zindīq poets, especially his two namesakes Ḥammād ar-Rāwiya and Ḥammād az-Zibriqān.[2] He was also on friendly terms with the well-known Zindīq Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ.[3]

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1. Concerning his walāʾ, i.e. whether he was a client of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa or Banū ʿUqayl or Banū Salūl, the accounts differ, while his father's name is variously recorded as ʿUmar (Ibn Qutayba) ʿAmr b. Yūnus b. Kulayb (Ibn ʿAsākir) and Yaḥyā b. ʿAmr b. Kulayb (al-Isfahānī), see Ibn Qutayba, ash-Shiʿr, II, 779; Aghānī (D), XIV, 321; Ibn ʿAsākir, Tahdhīb, IV, 424-5. In his satires, Bashshār calls him 'Nabatean', cf. Dīwān Bashshār, I, 370, II, 111, III, 264, IV, 50; Aghānī (D), XIV, 321, 326.

2. Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Ṭabaqāt, 69; Ibn Qutayba, ash-Shiʿr, II, 779; Aghānī (D), XIV, 322; Ibn ar-Raqīq, 139-140.

3. Al-Jahshiyāri, 109.

Al-Mas'ūdī recorded the name of Ḥammād 'Ajrad among the authors who wrote on Manichaeism, Marcionism and Bardaisanism and promoted the idea of Zandaqa.[4] But other sources are silent about his writings and apart from his Dīwān, which, according to an-Nadīm, contained about 2,000 verses (50 folios),[5] no work has been attributed to him.

An account quoted from Abū Nuwās says that:

> "I believed that Ḥammād 'Ajrad had been only accused of Zandaqa for his profligate outlook in his poetry (li mujūnih fī shi'rih). Now having found myself incarcerated in the prison of the Zanādiqa, I learnt that Ḥammād was one of their leaders (imām min a'immatihim) and he was the author of a poem in rhyming couplets (shi'r muzāwij baytayn baytayn) which they recite in their prayer."[6]

However, nothing of this poem has survived to support Abū Nuwās' claim. It hardly seems likely that Abu Nuwās himself would have forged such a story to discredit Ḥammād,

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4. Murūj, IV, 223-224.

5. Nadīm, 184.

6. Aghānī (D), XIV, 324. After quoting the above accounts, George Vajda (op. cit., 205) comments that the muzdawij is frequently employed in didactic or gnomic poetry. We mention however, for curiosity's sake, that pieces of similar prosodic structure are also found among the texts of Turfan: fr. M95 and M564 (Andreas-Henning, Manichäica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan, SPR AW, 1933, pp. 318-321).

considering their good relations, but it might have been fabricated by others.

As regards his reputation in his lifetime, many accounts and epigrams of his contemporaries depict him as a 'Zindīq', 'Dualist', 'Manichaean' and 'profligate'. The most vicious satires were exchanged between him and Bashshār, and in these the latter was usually mocked for his ugliness, while on the contrary Ḥammād was satirized by Bashshār for his disbelief and profligacy. Ḥammād is a person, as Bashshār accuses him, who believes neither in God nor in the Prophet, though sometimes he hypocritically pretends his adherence.[7] He does not practice prayer,[8] and denies the Resurrection, though "what is the Resurrection to a Zindīq" (wa mā z-Zindīqa wa l-Ḥashrū).[9] Furthermore,

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7. Dīwān Bashshār, III, 2, 123.

8. Ibid., III, 306.

9. Ibid., III, 123. There is another epigram on Ḥammād attributed to Bashshār which says that Ḥammād would be a good person if he knew God and prayed (Dīwān Bashshār, IV, 44 quoted from Ibn Khallikān, II, 211). But the attribution of this poem to Bashshār is not certain, being attributed also to Abū l-Ghūl (Aghānī (D), VI, 86) as well as Ḥammād b. az-Zibriqān (al-Ḥayawān, IV, 142). Al-Marzubānī (Nūr al-Qabas al-Mukhtaṣar min al-Muqtabas, 271) records the poem as a satire against Ḥammād ar-Rāwiya, composed by an unknown poet; yet he mentions that it is also attributed to Abū l-Ghūl and addressed to Ḥammād az-Zibriqān.

he is accused of being a Dualist. In a poem, playing on the word 'ra's' meaning 'head' and 'principle', Bashshār addresses Ḥammād and says: "It is difficult for me to bear one head, it would be all the more so with two, that is to say to believe in two principles. Do call someone else for the worship of two Gods, for I am busy with the One."[10] After hearing this poem, Ḥammād did not refute the accusation but said that he was not annoyed by the satire itself, but by Bashshār's pretence of ignorance about Zandaqa in following the baseless belief of the common people who ascribed to the Zanādiqa the worship of the 'head' (ra's), whereas Bashshār was more knowledgeable about Zandaqa than Mani.[11]

After the death of Ḥammād, in a poem addressing Ḥurayth b. Abī ṣ-Ṣalt al-Ḥanafī, Bashshār states that Ḥammād as well as his friend Ḥurayth was a dualist.[12]

Although accusations in satires should be taken with caution, they presumably reflect to some extent the reputation of the accused. Taking the satires against Ḥammād into consideration, we may be certain that Zandaqa and Manichaeism were labels which were attached to him by his contemporaries, a fact which contradicts the suggestion of C. Pellat that the charge of Manichaeism has only been levelled against him from the end of the

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10. Dīwān Bashshār, IV, 135-136; cf. Appendix D.
11. Aghānī (D), XIV, 325, 328. (See appendix D).
12. Ibid., 324.

2nd/8th century.[13] However, we do agree with C. Pellat's view that the Zandaqa of Ḥammād lay mainly in an attitude of profound religious indifference, of libertinism and of impertinence,[14] but, nevertheless, the accusation of Manichaeism which is widely known among his contemporaries may, somehow, have had some basis. Although a dissolute person like Ḥammād could hardly be regarded as a Manichaean, it would be conceivable that he, like certain intellectuals of his time, had a tendency towards Manichaeism, or as G. Vajda expresses it, that he was a sympathizer of the idea.[15]

However, his notoriety as a profligate and Manichaean Zindīq did not cause any harm to his official position in courts. He was the boon-companion (nadīm) of al-Walīd II b. Yazīd (125-6/743-4),[16] Suhayl b. Sālim (a Basran noble and the governor of Sūs and Jundīsābūr under al-Manṣūr),[17] Nāfi' b. 'Uqba (governor of Basra)[18] and Muḥammad b. Abī

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13. 'Ḥammād 'Ajrad', EH^2, III, 135b.

14. Ibid., 135b.

15. G. Vajda, op. cit., 206.

16. Aghānī (D), XIV, 335.

17. Ibid., 326 (here the name is recorded 'Sulaym b. Sālim' which must be a mistake), 330. For the satires of Bashshār against him and Ḥammād see Dīwān Bashshār, I, 359, III, 2, 101, 299.

18. Aghānī (D), XIV, 323.

l-'Abbās (also a governor of Basra).[19] As a secretary (kātib) he served under Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Ṣūl in Mosul and 'Uqba b. Salm in Baḥrayn.[20] He was also tutor (mu'addib) to the sons of the Caliph as-Saffāḥ,[21] 'Abbās b. Muḥammad[22] and the vizier ar-Rabī'.[23] In any case he was tolerated by the authorities, and according to some accounts the Caliph al-Manṣūr even induced him to accompany, with other dissolute characters, Muḥammad b. Abī l-'Abbās to Basra on his nomination as governor of the city (147/764), in order to discredit and disqualify him from the caliphate.[24] After the death of this prince (150/767), Ḥammād fled from Basra and took refuge with Ja'far b. al-Manṣūr, because Muḥammad b. Sulaymān was striving to take revenge on him for some amorous poems about his sister Zaynab[25] which were composed by Ḥammād for Muḥammad b. Abī l-'Abbās who had been in love with her. Eventually, Ḥammād, according to some accounts, was

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19. Ibid., 322. Cf. Dīwān Bashshār, IV, 119, 134.
20. Al-Jahshiyārī, 109.
21. Aghānī (D), XIV, 370; aṣ-Ṣūlī, Ash'ār Awlād al-Khulafā', 4.
22. Ibid., 331-332.
23. Ibid., 331.
24. Ibid., 369.
25. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī was the governor of Basra and Kufa under al-Manṣūr, cf. al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-Ashrāf, III, 94-96.

assassinated by the agents of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, at Ahwāz, probably in the year 161.[26]

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26. Aghānī (D), 369 seq.; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, 181-182; aṣ-Ṣūlī, Ash'ār Awlād al-Khulafā', 3-8. The date of Ḥammād's death is not certain and varies from 155-168, see C. Pellat, EI^2, III, 135b.

e. Abū Nuwās

Abū Nuwās (d. 199/877), according to many accounts, was also accused of Zandaqa, although his name is not recorded in the lists of Zindīqs given by al-Jāḥiẓ and an-Nadīm. Some anecdotes, however, testify to his notoriety as a Zindīq among the people of his time.[1] He was also imprisoned on a charge of Zandaqa. Once in the reign of ar-Rashīd (170-193/786-809) he was put in prison for some blasphemous poems which were claimed to be evidence of his Zandaqa and kufr by al-Faḍl b. ar-Rabī' (d.208/824) who was eager to take revenge on Abū Nuwās for a slander which he had spread against him.[2] It is also said that his satire against the Northern Arabs caused his imprisonment,[3] but another account, which claims that Abū Nuwās was put in prison for his drinking, cannot be taken seriously.[4] He was later released as a result of a poem which he sent to

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1. Ibn Manẓūr, Akhbār Abī Nuwās, I, 222-223; II, 41; Ṭabarī, III, 972.

2. Abū Hiffān, Akhbār Abī Nuwas, 106-107; cf. ibid., 46-47; Ibn Manẓūr, II, 61-62. Another account (Ibn Manẓūr, II, 57-60) claims that it was Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far who incited ar-Rashīd against Abū Nuwās.

3. Dīwān (W), I, 94-95; Ṭabarī, III, 909; Ibn Manẓūr, II, 82.

4. Abū Hiffān, 72; cf. Ibn Manẓūr, I, 109; Ṭabarī, III, 961.

ar-Rashīd.[5]

In the reign of al-Amīn (193-198/809-813) to whom he had been very close as a boon companion,[6] he was put in prison again. According to al-Jahshiyārī, al-Amīn, who had been angry with Abū Nuwās for some of his poems, became even more exasperated when Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far told him that Abū Nuwās was a Dualist (min kibār ath-Thanawiyya), and the charge was supported by others. Consequently Abū Nuwās was imprisoned and later released by the mediation of the uncle of al-Faḍl b. ar-Rabī'. It is said that the latter entered the prison and asked Abū Nuwās: "Are you a Zindīq?" "No God forbid!" Abū Nuwas replied. "Are you one of the worshippers of the ram?"he asked. "No I eat it, even the skin!" Abū Nuwās replied.[7] In fact, however, it seems most probable that the imprisonment of Abū Nuwās

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5. Abū Hiffān, 72-74, 99-100. Another account claims that he remained in the prison of the Zanādiqa until the death of ar-Rashīd (193/809), and that after the accession of al-Amīn to the throne he was released by the mediation of al-Faḍl b. ar-Rabī''s uncle (Ibn Manẓūr, II, 76-77; cf. Ṭabarī, III, 959).

6. Abū Hiffān, 23, 70-71, 83-85, 105-106; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭabaqāt, 209-211.

7. Al-Jahshiyārī, al-Wuzarā', 296-297; Ṭabarī, III, 962; cf. Ibn Manẓūr, I, 95-97. The question about the ram apparently refers to the Manichees' abstention from eating meat and killing animals which was presumably regarded by some Muslims as worshipping animals including the ram.

by al-Amīn was mainly motivated by the political need to neutralize the propaganda of al-Ma'mūn and his partisans against al-Amīn for his friendship with the notorious Abū Nuwās.[8]

Although some opponents of Abū Nuwās, according to the above account, claim he had been a Dualist Manichee, this can hardly be accepted. Not only was the alleged accusation dismissed by the authorities, but there is not a single verse of his to imply any inclination towards Manichaeism. In addition his satire against Abān b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Lāḥiqī, in which Abān is blamed for Manichaeism, also serves to refute the accusation. In some poems Abū Nuwās expresses his preference of Christianity and Zoroastrianism to Islam, but these poems, which are composed to please Christian or Zoroastrian boys for the sake of pleasure, cannot be taken seriously.[9]

Generally, Abū Nuwās, unlike some Zindīq poets, was not attracted by religious and philosophical matters. Theological arguments, he believes, are fruitless, and apart from death, which is the end,

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8. Cf. Al-Jahshiyārī, 295; Ṭabarī, III, 963; Ibn Manẓūr, I, 147.

9. Dīwān, Fātiḥ, no. 3775, f. 84a, 58b; al-Fukāha, 116; Ibn Manẓūr, II, 59. For his lack of seriousness about these religions see his humorous poem: Dīwān, Fātiḥ, no. 3775, f. 20a; al-Fukāha, 46. Cf. E. Wagner, Abū Nuwās, 111-112.

nothing is certain.[10] The environment in which Abū Nuwās was brought up, besides other factors which shaped his character,[11] caused him to adopt a hedonistic view about life, and he was oriented towards a licentious world in which religion and religious questions were neglected. Therefore, none of the Islamic sects attracted him. He was on friendly terms with Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār an-Naẓẓām (d. 231/848), the leader of the Mu'tazilites,[12] who tried in vain to guide Abū Nuwās to a righteous path, but the latter did not comply and later broke off his relationship and satirized an-Naẓẓām.[13] His Shiism, which is claimed by some authors,

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10. Abū Hiffān, 37; Ibn Manẓūr, II, 57; al-Marzubānī, al-Muwashshaḥ, 427.

11. For studies on Abū Nuwās' character see M. an-Nuwayhī, Nafsiyyāt Abī Nuwās (Cairo, 1953); A.M. al-'Aqqād, Abū Nuwās (Cairo, 1954); Wagner, op. cit., 98-110.

12. An-Naẓẓām, who had formerly been a poet and a literary figure (cf. Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭabaqāt, 272), is said to have been in love with the young Abū Nuwās (Nadim, 205-6).

13. Dīwān (G), 530; cf. also his celebrated Khamriyya (Dīwān (G), 6-7) which is said to have been addressed to an-Naẓẓām.

can hardly be proved.[14]

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14. His leaning towards Shiism is supported by a poem in praise of Imam ʻAlī b. Mūsā ar-Riḍā (153-203/770-818) (Ibn Manẓūr, II, 74; M. al-Amīn, A'yān ash-Shī'a, XXIV,72-78) the attribution of which is doubted by E. Wagner, since Abū Nuwās was dead at the time of the appointment of ar-Riḍā as successor to the throne by al-Ma'mūn in the year 202/817 (Wagner, Abū Nuwās, 116). But the account concerning the poem does not relate the poem to the period of al-Ma'mūn, thus it is probable that it was composed before the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, while ar-Riḍā was in Medina. Apart from that, there is another poem in praise of the Alids and the House of the Prophet (Dīwān, Fātiḥ, no. 3775, f. 160b. This poem has not apparently come to the attention of Wagner). On the other hand, there is an account which illustrates his indifference to the Shiite and anti-Shiite arguments (Dīwān, Fātiḥ, no. 3775, f. 115b-116a). According to another account, Abū Nuwās satirized a member of the House of Nawbakht, his patrons, and blamed him for Shiism (Rafḍ) (Abū Hiffān, 36; Ibn Manẓūr, II, 86). But the account which accuses the Nawbakhtids of poisoning Abū Nuwās in revenge for that poem (Abū Hiffān, 34-35; Ibn Manẓūr, II, 86; another account says that Zunbūr al-Kātib, an adversary of Abū Nuwās, wrote an epigram on Imam ʻAlī and publicised it in the name of Abū Nuwās. Ibn Manẓūr, II, 84-85) may have been invented by the

The indifferentism of Abū Nuwās and his carelessness about religious duties are expressed in some of his poems, and also in a number of anecdotes.[15] He also recommends enjoyment of the worldly life before death,[16] while he dispraises asceticism.[17] Hypocrisy is criticised and even acts contrary to established moral norms, he says, should be committed publicly.[18] He recommends that we should ignore the concept of sin and punishment and have pleasure:

"Enjoy wine and sodomy
Do not fear passing over the Ṣirāṭ."[19]

He sometimes goes further and makes statements

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enemies of the Nawbakhtids (A. Iqbāl, Khānadān-i Nawbakhtī, 21-23). Nevertheless, Abū Nuwās' leanings to Shiism can hardly be accepted and the composition of some panegyric poems on the House of the Prophet, which could be based on the common respect of all Muslims for them, hardly serve as evidence for his Shiism.

15. Dīwān, Fātiḥ, no. 3775, f. 3a, 73a-b, 79b-83a; al-Fukāha, 102, 112-114.

16. Dīwān, Fātiḥ, no. 3775, f. 88a; cf. 73b-74a, 75a-b, 76a.

17. Ibid., f. 77a, 78b, 79b.

18. Ibid., ff. 19a, 78a.

19. Ibid., f. 76b, 150b; al-Fukāha, 106.

regarded as blasphemous by Muslims. In one poem he expresses his preference of worldly enjoyment to the supposed heavenly ones, because

"No one has come back to inform me
Whether he was in Paradise or in Hell
after his death."[20]

More openly he denies the spiritual life and the Resurrection as it was denied by the Dahriyya:

"My tongue discloses the hidden secret
That is my belief in Dahr
There will not be any calamity after death
Death is like the egg of a barren cock."[21]

As opposed to the licentious and blasphemous poems, there are a number of poems with religious themes. In his tiny body of zuhdiyyāt, Abū Nuwās frequently emphasises the forgiveness of God: "Although my sins are great His forgiveness is greater."[22] Even in his mujūniyyāt where he encourages sensual enjoyment he sometimes refers to the forgiveness of God and states that He will forgive all sins and thus one should trust only in Him and ignore other people.[23] In addition there are some accounts which indicate Abū Nuwās' belief

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20. Dīwān, f. 83a; al-Fukāha, 115; Abū Hiffān, 45-47; al-Marzubānī, al-Muwashshaḥ, 429.

21. Abū Hiffān, 21; Ibn Manẓūr, I, 230; al-Marzubānī, al-Muwashshaḥ, 427.

22. Dīwān (W), II, 166, 167, 173, 174.

23. Dīwān, Fātiḥ, no. 3775, f. 17a-b, 73a, 74a-b, 85a.

in Islamic principles and his hope for God's forgiveness,[24] although a few accounts exaggerate his chastity.[25]

In his treatise on Sariqāt Abī Nuwās, after quoting a few verses of Abū Nuwās' blasphemies (kufriyyāt), Muhalhil b. Yamūt, expressing his surprise, says: "I do not understand why he composed such poems, while he was undoubtedly a faithful believer in Islam."[26] Ḥamza al-Isfahānī quotes the Nawbakhtids that Abū Nuwās despite his profligate life had sound faith and strong belief.[27]

However, the poems with religious themes were composed at different periods of his life and are not the product of any specific time. They were written in transient moods or as occasional poems motivated by

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24. Abū Hiffān, 35, 38, 44-45, 49, 70, 75; al-Khaṭīb, Ta'rikh Baghdād, VII, 447-449; Ibn Manẓūr, I, 63, 70; II, 80-81.

25. Abū Hiffān, 49.

26. Dīwān, Fātiḥ no. 3775, f. 150b. Muhalhil b. Yamūt b. al-Muzarra', a Syrian literateur and a relative of al-Jāḥiẓ, wrote this treatise for Ḥamza al-Isfahānī (d. 350-360/961-970), and the latter subjoined it in his recension of Dīwān Abī Nuwās. The treatise has been edited and published by M.M. Haddāra (Cairo, 1957), but as it was not available to the present writer we refer here to a manuscript of Dīwān Abī Nuwās of Fātiḥ library no. 3775, which includes this treatise (ff. 122b-151b.)

27. Dīwān, Fātiḥ, no. 3775, f. 120b.

particular impulses,[28] as is also the case with his blasphemous poems. Abū Nuwās himself, when he was blamed by some friends for his blasphemousness, explained himself as follows: "I do not believe other than in Islam, but licentiousness sometimes overcomes me."[29] One account of his arrest on a charge of Zandaqa confirms that his Zandaqa was nothing more than licentiousness. According to this tradition, Abū Nuwās entered a mosque in a state of intoxication. When during the prayer the imam recited the Koranic verse "Say O disbelievers" (CIX, 1), Abū Nuwās, who was behind him, called out "Here I am." Soon after the prayer Abū Nuwās was arrested by the people and handed over to the Inquisition. For his ordeal Ḥamdawayh, the Inquisitor of Zanādiqa, brought a portrait of Mani and invited Abū Nuwās to spit on it. Abū Nuwās went one better and tried to vomit on the picture, after which Ḥamdawayh hastened to set him free.[30]

How authentic the above account is may be open to question, but taking into consideration the other accounts and his own works, we may come to the conclusion that Abū Nuwās was merely a <u>mājin</u> and that his reputation as a Zindīq was only based on his licentiousness. He was neither a Manichee nor an

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28. E. Wagner, "Abū Nuwās", EI^2, I, 144a.

29. Abū Hiffān, 38.

30. Ibn Manẓūr, <u>Akhbār Abī Nuwās</u>, I, 224.

unbeliever nor a political opponent of the authorities, and his imprisonment, as has been already mentioned, was based on personal motivations for which his blasphemous poems were only a pretext.

Abu l-'Atāhiya

Abu l-'Atāhiya Ismā'īl b. Qāsim (130-210/748-825), the poet of asceticism, was accused of being a Zindīq by some of his contemporaries. Ibrāhim b. al-Mahdī, the singer, and Salm b. Khāsir, the poet, refer to him as a Zindīq.[1] Manṣūr b. 'Ammār (d. 225/839), a preacher who had a personal antagonism towards Abu l-'Atāhiya, is recorded as having accused him of Zandaqa on several occasions. When he heard that Abu l-'Atāhiya had claimed that a qaṣīda of his was better than a sūra of the Koran, he condemned the poet,[2] but he went beyond this to take certain poetic images in some of his verses found in almost any literary work, as signs of Zandaqa and grounds for condemnation.[3]

The major charge levelled against him by Ibn 'Ammār is that Abu l-'Atāhiya mentions death in his poems without mentioning Paradise and Hell, or in other words that he denies the Resurrection.[4] It was, apparently, on the basis of this allegation that al-Iṣfahānī in the beginning of his biography of the poet says:

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1. Aghānī (D), IV, 75, 101.
2. Ibid., IV, 34. The authenticity of this account is open to doubt; as already mentioned, a similar charge was levelled against Bashshār b. Burd (see above, p.222). Cf. G. Vajda, RSO, XVII, 199, 218.
3. Aghānī, IV, 51; Ibn Qutayba, ash-Shi'r wa-sh-Shu'arā', 795; al-Khatīb, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, VI, 253.
4. Aghānī, IV, 34.

> "He was ranged by some of his contemporaries among the philosophers who denied the Resurrection, because in his poems he mentions only death and destruction, never the Resurrection or the return to life."[5]

But as has been pointed out by I. Goldziher[6] and G. Vajda[7] this accusation does not correspond to the facts, since there is ample evidence in his poetry to exonerate him from this charge.

It is claimed in certain accounts that he was prosecuted as a Zindīq. According to one account, being afraid of prosecution by Ḥamdawayh, the inquisitor of the Zindīqs, Abu l-'Atāhiya began to practise as a cupper and disappeared into the crowd of Baghdad.[8] But another account, which is narrated from Muḥammad, the son of Abu l-'Atāhiya, does not refer to his escape and hiding during the Persecution of the Zindīqs. The nocturnal devotions of Abu l-'Atāhiya, according to the latter account, were wrongly interpreted by a neighbour whose terrace overlooked the house of the poet. She

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5. Ibid., 2.
6. 'Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Ḳuddūs', Trans. IX Int. Cong. of Orientalis, 113.
7. Op. cit., 217. In his study on the Zuhdiyyāt, J. Martin discusses the question of death and the Resurrection in Abu l-'Atāhiya's poem (The Zuhdīyāt of Abu l-'Atāhiya, (Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Glasgow, 1969, 105-117) and he refers to some passages in which the Resurrection is mentioned: Abu l-'Atāhiya, al-Anwār az-Zāhiya fī Dīwān Abi l-'Atāhiya, 3:1, 15:8-9, 16:6-7, 24:9, 15, 30:5, 11.
8. Aghānī, IV, 7.

spread abroad the story that he spoke to the moon. Having learnt of this gossip, Ḥamdawayh spent part of a night in the neighbour's house to watch Abu l-'Atāhiya, but did not observe that the latter did anything more than perform qunūt.[9] Unlike the first account, the second one gives the nature of the charge levelled against him, i.e. praying to the moon. The Manichees, in fact, were accused of venerating the Sun and Moon.[10] Given the respect in which the two celestial bodies were thought to be held by the Manichees, Ḥamdawayh's interest in the activities of Abu l-'Atāhiya would be understandable. But the first account is silent about the reasons for his prosecution, while its authenticity is open to doubt, since it is not supported by other evidence.[11]

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9. Ibid., 35.

10. The Manichaean daily prayers were directed toward the sun by day and the moon by night (Nadīm, 396; M. Boyce, A Reader in Manichaean, I, 12). The Sun and Moon have special place in Manichaeism. The Elect, immediately after death, ascend by means of 'the Pillar of Glory' to the moon, and thence are conveyed to paradise (Nadim, 398), and among the sins was the blasphemy against Sun and Moon (Burkitt, The Religion of the Manichees, 52). This respect for the two celestial bodies which was regarded as worshipping them has been condemned by their opponents. St. Ephraim accuses the Manichees of worshipping the Sun and Moon (S. Ephraim's Prose Refutation, I, xciv). Al-Bīrūnī quotes Mani as saying:

> "The other religious bodies blame us because we worship sun and moon, and represent them as an image. But they do not know their real natures. They do not know that the sun and moon are our path, the door whence we march forth into the world of our existence (into heaven)."

(India, 254; Eng. tr. I, 169).

11. Furthermore, there are certain accounts which say that Abu l-'Atāhiya practised cupping for some poor people as an act of charity and also for the purpose of self-humiliation. See Aghānī, IV, 7-8.

Whether the above accounts concerning the prosecution of Abu l-'Atāhiya are authentic or not, the accusation of Zandaqa levelled against him by his contemporaries, which is supported by other accounts, is a fact. It should be mentioned here that his brief imprisonment by al-Mahdī did not have any connection with his ideas, for it is stated in our sources that his composition of a love-poem about 'Utba, the favourite slave girl of al-Mahdī, was the main reason.[12] The reason for his second imprisonment by ar-Rashīd was his refusal to compose a love-poem because of his devotion to the ascetic life.[13]

Let us now examine the nature and the type of Zandaqa of which he was accused. The charge of disbelief in the Resurrection, as previously mentioned, does not have a solid basis, since there are certain verses which refer to the Last Day and the Resurrection.

Another charge, which may have a connection with Zandaqa, is his belief in Dualism. Describing the religious belief of Abu l-'Atāhiya, Aḥmad b. Ḥarb says that "he believed in the Unity of God and that God created two contrary substances ex nihilo, then he made the world in this way out these two, and that the world is created,

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12. Ibn Qutayba, ash-Shi'r, 792; Aghānī, IV, 40.
13. Aghānī, IV, 29-31, 63-64, 68-69. Yūsuf Khulayf suggests that the imprisonment by ar-Rashīd might have been based on the fact that in his ascetic poems, Abu l-'Atāhiya sometimes criticises the worldly life and heedlessness of kings and puts them on the same level as the common people (Ḥayāt ash-Shi'r fī l-Kūfa, 518-519).

and that it had no other creator than God. God will return everything to these two contrary substances before the destruction of the essences."[14] This charge was apparently levelled against him by his contemporaries, since an account given by al-Khalīl b. Asad an-Nawshajānī quotes him as saying: "The people claim that I am a Zindīq, but by God my religion is no other than the Unity (Tawḥīd)."[15] The term 'Zindīq' here does indicate 'dualist', for he uses the word 'Unity' as an opposite term.

A study of Abu l-'Atāhiya's poems does, in fact, attract one's attention to a certain dualism. The use of contrasting words such as khayr-sharr, nūr-ẓulma, ḥalāwa-marāra, rāḥa-'anā', ṣafw-qadhā ... are noteworthy. In one poem he maintains that in the world there is nothing pure, that everything is a mixture of two opposing elements, pure and impure, joyous and sorrowful, and in the human personality good and evil. There is a great distance between good and evil but they co-exist in man who, thus, has two natures.[16]

But this dualism is different from that taught by Manichaeism, for Abu l-'Atāhiya believes that the world was created by God. In other words, as a monotheist

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14. Aghānī, IV, 5.
15. Ibid., 35. Cf. al-Khaṭīb, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, VI, 253.
16. Al-Anwār az-Zāhiya, 386. Cf. G. Vajda, op. cit., 219 and 225-229 where the terms nūr and ẓulma in the Zuhdiyyāt of Abu l-'Atāhiya are examined.

he puts the unique God at the beginning of things as the creator of two opposing substances, emphasizing that the world owes its formation only to God.[17] In addition, in his poems there is no reference to Manichaeism,[18] and on the contrary, the influence of Islamic doctrine and the Koranic expression in his poems are observable. The fact that dualism dominates his perspective may have been due to the influence of Manichaeism, or in A. Guillaume's words, "the modified legacy of Manichaean beliefs" which was current in Iraq.[19] This dualism was, however, simply a way to explain the double face of existence.

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17. Al-Anwār az-Zāhiya, 3:11, 5:4, 30:6, 211:13, 270:11. Cf. J. Martin, op. cit., 87 seq.; G. Vajda, op. cit., 220.

18. Certain ideas of Abu l-'Atāhiya have been found to be similar to those of the Manichees. His prohibition of lucrative professions (taḥrīm al-makāsib) (Aghānī, VI, 6), is pointed out by L. Massignon and G. Vajda (op. cit., 220) as being reminiscent of the teaching of Mani who prohibited his followers from acquiring more than the clothes of a year and the food of a day (al-Bīrunī, al-Āthār al-Bāqiya, 207).

On the basis of one verse in which Abu l-'Atāhiya mentions that the noblest of human beings is the king in beggar's clothes (al-Anwār az-Zāhiya, 274), I. Goldziher (op. cit., 114) asserts the probable influence of Buddhism on the poet.

19. EI^2, I, 108.

CONCLUSION

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The term 'Zindīq' is an Arabicised form of the Persian word 'Zandīk' which means 'interpreter', and was initially applied to the Manichees by the Zoroastrians. In the earliest extant text, in which the word 'Zandīk' occurs (third century A.D.) it refers to the Manichees. In Sassanian Pahlavi and Armenian texts, the term is applied to the Manichees; but the application in some later Pahlavi texts, especially those of the post-Islamic era, does not seem to be entirely certain.

In Arabic it found currency in the early decades of the second century of Islam, most probably in Iraq. From the time of its early usage in Arabic, it came to mean not only 'Manichee' but acquired other related meanings, such as Mazdakite, Dualist-Gnostic, Dahrī, heterodox Muslim, irreligious and profligate. In the early sources, however, it is used more commonly with reference to the 'Manichees', who on the fall of the Sassanid Empire migrated from the East and re-established their church in Iraq.

The tolerance enjoyed by the Manichaean community was probably due to the lack of a developed Islamic dogma, since this was still in its evolutionary stage, as well as to the lack of awareness of this religious minority by the Arab rulers in the earlier period. Furthermore, some of the Manichees of Islamic Iraq maintained a close relationship with the rulers.

The number of Manichaean religious texts and the

refutations which they attracted in the second century indicates their intellectual importance at that time. In the second century, while the Mu'tazilites were in the process of establishing their ideas as the dominant dogma, certain teachings of Manichaeism attracted some Muslim intellectuals.

The persecution of the Zanādiqa carried on in the reign of al-Mahdī seems not to have affected the traditional Manichaean community, who continued to exist in Iraq for another century. The Persecution seems to have been directed mainly against these Muslims who converted to Manichaeism, or were its adherents. Undoubtedly the Manichaean community in the period of the Persecution also suffered to some extent, but it nevertheless survived. However, with the supremacy of Islamic dogmaticism, the Manichaean community in time gradually disintegrated and partly emigrated towards China. However, the persecution of the Zanādiqa, although originally intended against certain Manichees, soon came to be directed mainly against criticism of Islam or in a more general way against any idea which threatened the state and fundamental tenets of Islam. It was sometimes exploited as a means of furthering political or personal antagonism.

Although certain so-called Zindīq poets had Shu'ūbī tendencies, there seems to be no direct link between the two movements, and hardly any case of a person being accused of Zandaqa on account of his Shu'ūbism. Zandaqa,

therefore, did not have any nationalistic characteristics, since it was commonplace among the ethnic Arab intelectuals as well. The fact that the greater number of them were from non-Arab origins can be attributed to the fact that non-Arab intellectuals, who formed a majority in Iraq, happened to dominate the cultural life of the period.

Neither was the Zandaqa movement a political force or a 'class-struggle', since among the Zindīqs there were found many who belonged to the ruling families. Furthermore, many of the Zindīqs were in service at courts, as secretaries, nadīms or poets.

The majority of those accused of Zandaqa in our sources are poets. These poets, most of whom were licentious, were careless in their religion and in many cases expressed reservations about Islamic dogma or even went so far as to mock religious acts. It was, indeed, these blasphemies which attracted the accusations of Zandaqa, rather than mere licentiousness, which was widespread in Abbasid Iraq and was, in fact, tolerated by the authorities. There were some licentious (mājin) poets who were never accused of Zandaqa, just as there were Zindīq poets who led an ascetic life. The latter group may have been influenced by Manichaean ideas which were to be found in Iraq. Considering the Manichaean influence on the cultural life of Iraq, we may presume that the views of certain poets were influenced by certain aspects of Manichaean beliefs, although they were not actually Manichees.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE ZINDIQS OF THE SECOND CENTURY

In the following list the names of the Zindīqs of the second century A.H. are enumerated together with reference to the sources in which they were claimed to be Zindīqs. The sources used here are those which are dated no later than the fourth century A.H. The list includes all those who are accused of Zandaqa in our sources, irrespective of the kind of Zandaqa, and does not necessarily mean that they were well-known Zindīqs in their own time.

I. The Caliphs

1. AL-WALĪD II B. YAZĪD (88-126/707-744; reign 125-126/743-744). In a tradition recorded by al-Iṣfahānī, al-'Alā' b. al-Bundār claims that al-Walīd and a man of Banū Kalb were Manichees, because on his visit to al-Walīd he had seen an image with him and that he had said: "This is /the image of/ Mani, before whom God did not send any prophet and will never send after him." (Aghānī (B), VI, 131-132. Cf. the same anecdote with slight differences in Ibn Qārīḥ, ar-Risāla, 27). Aṭ-Ṭabarī says that al-Walīd has been accused of Zandaqa by his opponents (Ṭabarī, II, 1777). The story narrated by al-Iṣfahānī might have been fabricated by his enemies, because as A.A. Bevan rightly pointed out "if al-Walīd really uttered these words, they would prove not that he was a Manichaean, but that he knew next to nothing of Manichaeism." (ERE, VIII, 401b).

2. MARWĀN II B. MUḤAMMAD (76-132/695-750; reign 127-132/744-750). Al-Maqdisī (al-Bad', VI, 52) and an-Nadīm (p. 401) refer to his Zandaqa. The accusation, which is probably part of the Abbasid propaganda against him, might have been based on his relation with Ja'd b. Dirham (see below p. 273) who had been his tutor.

3. AL-MA'MŪN (170-218/786-863; reign 198-218/813-833). "I have read, written in the handwriting of one of the members of the Manichaean sect, that al-Ma'mūn was one of them, but he lied about this." (Nadīm, 401).

II. The Governors, Viziers and their Relatives

1. KHĀLID B. 'ABD ALLĀH AL-QASRĪ (66-126/686-743; governor of Iraq 105-120/723-738). Aghānī (B) XIX, 59, 60; Nadīm, 401. See above p. 108.

2. 'ABD ALLĀH B. MU'ĀWIYA (d. 131/748-9) Aghānī, XI, 66-79; XII, 81-82.

3. THE BARMAKIDS. "It is said that all the Barmakids were Zindīqs, except for Muḥammad b. Khālid b. Barmak." (Nadīm, 401). The poet Isḥāq b. Samā'a al-Mu'ayṭī in a satire against the Barmakids says that "Yaḥyā and his son follow the Zindīq; he has been followed of old in error". (al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-Ashrāf, III, 277).

4. 'ABD ALLĀH, the son of Abū 'Ubayd Allāh the vizier. Ṭabarī, III, 517; al-Jahshiyārī, 153. See above pp. 178-190.

Aṭ-Ṭabarī also reports the arrest and trial of a son of Abū 'Ubayd Allāh named Muḥammad (Ṭabarī, III, 490). By considering the similarity between two accounts of aṭ-Ṭabarī on one hand, and the detailed, and probably more authentic, account of al-Jahshiyārī on the other, it seems most probable that the first account of aṭ-Ṭabarī is duplicate of the second. Other sources tell us only about one son of Abū 'Ubayd Allāh without mentioning his name (al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, III, 312; Aghanī, XXI, 122). An-Nadīm (p. 401) gives his name as Muḥammad, and al-Ya'qūbī (III, 133) as Ṣāliḥ.

5. DĀ'ŪD B. RŪḤ B. ḤĀTIM. He is praised in some of Bashshār's poems (Dīwān, I, 278, 339, 340). His father, Rūḥ b. Ḥātim (d. 173/789), was one of the important men in the early Abbasid period who served as a governor of Kufa, Basra, Sind and Ifrīqiyya (Tabarī, III, 461, 467, 482, 484, 491, 505, 518, 519, 521, 569). Dā'ūd was arrested on a charge of Zandaqa in the year 166/782 and after repentance was sent to his father the governor of Basra, with a recommendation that he should punish his son. (Ṭabarī, III, 517).

6. MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ AYYŪB AL-MAKKĪ. His father Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Ayyūb was in charge of the Dīwān al-Kharāj, from which he was dismissed in the year 161/777 (Ṭabarī, III, 491). Muḥammad was arrested in the year 166/782 and confessed to Zandaqa. He was set free after repentance (Ṭabarī, III, 517; al-Jahshiyārī, 144).

7. ISMĀ'ĪL B. SULAYMĀN B. MUJĀLID. His father Sulaymān, a prominent figure in the early Abbasid period, was very close to al-Manṣūr (see al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, III, 111, 268; Ṭabarī, index). Ismā'īl was arrested on a charge of Zandaqa in the year 166/782, and after repentance was set free (Ṭabarī, III, 517).

8. MUḤAMMAD B. ṬAYFŪR. He was also arrested in the year 166/782, and confessed to Zandaqa, but was set free after repentance (Ṭabarī, III, 517). Little is known about him, and as whether his father is to be identified with Ṭayfūr the mawlā of al-Hādī who was governor of

Isfahān in 169/784 there is no evidence.

9. A son of DĀ'ŪD B. 'ALĪ. He was arrested on a charge of Zandaqa during the Persecution, and was put in prison, in which he died before 169/784 (Ṭabarī, III, 549-550). His father Dā'ūd b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās (d. 133/750) was a prominent person of the Abbāsids (see al-Balādhūrī, Ansāb, III, 87-89). His name is not given in our early sources; only the later historian Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (Tārīkh Guzīda, 300-301) records his name as 'Abd Allāh.

10. YA'QŪB B. AL-FAḌL b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abbās b. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He was arrested in the Caliphate of al-Mahdī on a charge of Zandaqa, and was imprisoned. In the year 169/784 al-Hādī ordered his execution(Ṭabarī, III, 549-550. See above pp. 179, 191).

11. KHADĪJA the wife of Ya'qūb b. al-Faḍl, died c. 169/784 (Ṭabarī, III, 550-551; cf. above p. 196).

12. FĀṬIMA the daughter of Ya'qūb b. al-Faḍl, died c. 169/784 (Ṭabarī, III, 550-551; cf. above p. 196).

13. AL-FAḌL B. SAHL (d. 2 Sha'bān 202/14.2.818), the vizier of al-Ma'mūn, and his brother Ḥasan b. Sahl are said to have been Zindīqs (Nadīm, 401).

III. The Secretaries and Nadīms

1. 'ABD AṢ-SAMAD B. 'ABD AL-A'LĀ, the tutor and nadīm of al-Walīd b. Yazīd (88-126/707-744) who was notorious for his Zandaqa and profligacy. He was also a poet (Ṭabari, II, 1741-43; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, III, 101-102; Aghānī (B), II, 78; VI, 102, 105; VII, 165-166).

2. IBN AL-MUQAFFA' (c. 102-139/c. 720-756), the secretary of 'Umar b. Hubayra, Yazīd b. 'Umar, Sulaymān b. 'Alī and 'Isā b. 'Alī. The Manichaean books translated by him spread Zandaqa (al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, IV, 224). He was a close friend of some Zindīq poets and himself was a well-known Zindīq (Aghānī, XII, 77-78). Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (169-246/785-860) refuted his views in ar-Radd 'alā z-Zindīq al-La'īn Ibn al-Muqaffa' (Rome, 1927). His Zandaqa is examined by F. Gabrieli, RSO, XIII (1932), 197-247 (Ar. tr. by A. Badawī, min Ta'rīkh al-Ilḥād, 40-53); idem, EI^2, art. Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

3. Son of IBN AL-MUQAFFA'. According to an unconfirmed account reported by al-Madā'inī a son of Ibn al-Muqaffa' was among a group of Zindīqs arrested during the Persecution (Aghānī, XVIII, 200).

4. AL-KHAṢĪB, the physician of the Caliph al-Manṣūr. According to the account quoted from 'Alī b. Muḥammad by aṭ-Ṭabarī, he was a mu'aṭṭil Zindīq but pretended to be a Christian. It is said that al-Manṣūr ordered him to poison the Abbasid amir Muḥammad b. Abī l-'Abbās (Ṭabarī, III, 422-423).

5. AL-BAQLĪ. About his life and beliefs little is known. He was a nadīm of the Alid 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya (d. 131/748), and was executed on the order of the Caliph al-Manṣūr (Aghānī (B), XI, 71). It may be presumed that his execution was connected with his relationship with Ibn Mu'āwiya, although the other two companions of the latter, Muṭī' b. Iyās and 'Umāra b. Ḥamza, both accused of Zandaqa, lived safely in the Abbasid period. However, because of lack of information a final judgment on al-Baqlī is difficult.

His surname, according to al-Isfahānī, was taken from his belief that the human being is like a plant (baqla) and that there is no after-life (Aghānī (B) XI, 71). But I. Goldziher suggests that al-Baqlī's surname was probably taken from his belief in Manichaean ideas concerning the nature of plants, which in the polemics of Church Fathers (Theodoret, Epiphanius, Augustine) against Manichaeism is already shown to be one of its most characteristic features (Trans. of the IX Inter. Cong. of Orientalists, II, 106). Such an idea was also attributed to Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Quddūs. When he was mourning for the death of his son, Abū l-Hudhayl told him: "I do not see any reason for your mourning since you believe that the human being is like a plant (Nadīm, 204. Cf. above p. 202). Also an account about a certain Ja'far al-Aḥmarī, who was accused of Zandaqa, indicates that in his trial the Caliph al-Mahdī found him guilty of believing that man is like plants and trees which

after a period become straw, and that there is no after-life (al-Bayhaqī, al-Maḥāsin wa l-Masāwī, II, 169).

6. ʿUMĀRA B. ḤAMZA. A descendant of Abū Lubāba, a mawlā of Ibn ʿAbbās (al-Jahshiyārī, 90, 147. Cf. al-Azdī, 209. An unreliable account claims that he was a Hashimite: Aghānī, XII, 77-78). Before the Abbasid period he served as a secretary and nadīm of the Alid ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya (d. 131/748) (Aghānī, XI, 71; XII, 78). He was a favourite of certain Abbasid caliphs, under whom he held different financial posts, including that of head of the Dīwān al-Kharāj of Basra in the reigns of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī (al-Jahshiyārī, 90-91, 124, 134, 149).

Despite the laudatory description of him given by some sources (al-Jahshiyārī, 90-91, 109; Nadīm, 131), al-Isfahānī describes him as a Zindīq (Aghānī, XI, 71). He is most probably to be identified with the ʿUmāra b. Ḥarbiyya (حربية) mentioned by al-Jāḥiẓ among the Zindīqs who were on friendly terms with each other (al-Ḥayawān, IV, 447. The fact which supports this assumption is that al-Murtaḍā (al-Amālī, I, 131) and Ibn Ḥajar (Lisān al-Mīzān, II, 253) who quoted this passage of al-Jāḥiẓ recorded the name as 'Ḥamza'). His friendship with Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ is mentioned by al-Jahshiyārī (p.109). After quoting a satire by Ḥammād ʿAjrad against ʿUmāra in which ʿUmāra is accused of Zandaqa, al-Jāḥiẓ comments that Ḥammād was more notorious than ʿUmāra for Zandaqa (al-Ḥayawān, IV, 444).

7. YŪNUS B. FARWA. He was a secretary of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā (Ṭabarī, III, 329; al-Jahshiyārī, 130; Nadīm, 139). Al-Jāḥiẓ records his name among the Zanādiqa (al-Ḥayawān, IV, 446, 447) and adds that Yūnus was more famous for Zandaqa than the others, and wrote a book for the king of Rūm in order to disgrace the Arabs and Islam (ibid, IV, 448. Cf. Amālī al-Murtaḍā, I, 132 which mentions that Yūnus received a reward for this). Al-Isfahānī also refers to his Zandaqa (Aghānī (D) XIV, 353). During the persecution of the Zindīqs he was hidden in Kufa (Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ, II, 202) and appeared in the year 170/786 when ar-Rashid declared an amnesty (Ṭabari, III, 604).

Some later sources identify him with Yūnus b. Abī Farwa, a Kharijite of Medina and the grandfather of al-Faḍl b. ar-Rabīʿ (138-208/755-824) az-Ziriklī, al-Aʿlām, VIII, 263), but he was presumably a different person. The latter was also called Ibn Abī Farwa after his grandfather Abū Farwa Kaysān (al-Jahshiyārī, 44-45, 125; Khallikān, II, 299), while the father of Yūnus, the Zindīq, was Farwa, a form which occurs in a satire by Ḥammād ʿAjrad (al-Ḥayawān, IV, 446), and also in al-Jahshiyārī (p.130, although the editors have amended this to Abī Farwa) and Ṭabarī, III, 329.

8. YAZĪD B. AL-FAYḌ. He was a secretary of al-Manṣūr. In the year 167/783-4 he was arrested on a charge of Zandaqa by ʿUmar al-Kalwādhī and put in prison, but he escaped and was not caught (Ṭabarī, III, 520; al-

Jahshiyāri, 156). In the year 170/786-7, after the declaration of amnesty by ar-Rashīd, he came out of hiding (Ṭabarī, III, 604). His name is recorded by al-Jāḥiẓ in his list of Zanādiqa (al-Ḥayawān, IV, 447).

9. YAZDĀN B. BĀDHĀN, the secretary of Yaqṭīn and 'Alī b. Yaqṭīn. He was executed in the year 169/785 and his body was put on a gibbet (Tabarī, III, 549). Originally from Nahrawān he had a Nabatean accent, about which and his mispronunciation of the letter 'h', al-Jāḥiẓ (al-Bayān, I, 72) reports an anecdote.

His kunya was apparently Abū Khālid, since he is referred to by this name in a poem (al-Maqdisī, al-Bad', VI, 101). His name is recorded in different forms: ازدانفادار in al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān, I, 72 (cf. ibid., p 92 where the same form occurs), ازدانفار and بردانفاذار in the manuscript of al-Jahshiyāri (p. 169) and ازدایادار in al-Maqdisī as well as in a poem (al-Bad', VI, 100-101). In any case the first element of these forms is 'Ezad' = Izad = Yazdān.

When he went to Mecca and saw the pilgrims hastening (harwala) in ṭawāf, he compared them to bulls on the threshing floor (Ṭabarī, III, 549). Al-Maqdisī (op. cit.) quotes the following words of a poet about him:

"Since ages after the death of Mani
Izadayādār appeared
For fear of execution and disgrace
He (Abū Khālid) made the pilgrimage to Mecca
Although he wants the House of God

To be on fire, by God!
Neither the snake nor the sparrow does he kill
Which is to be regarded a kufr in his beliefs
Neither the rat does he harm
'In which there is the spirit of God'
he believes."

10. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-LAYTH, a Persian by origin and a mawlā of the Umayyad family, who was an orator and theologian and served the Barmakid Yaḥyā b. Khālid as a secretary. Despite the accusation of Zandaqa levelled against him, among his works there is a refutation of the Zindīqs (K. ar-Radd 'alā z-Zanādiqa). He is reported to have been inclined to Shu'ūbism (Nadīm, 134. Cf. I. Goldziher's suggestion that the accusation of Zandaqa was based only on his Shu'ūbism, Muḥ Stud, I, 149).

11. ABŪ 'ABD ALLAH MUḤAMMAD. He was an adopted son of Mu'āwiya the secretary of al-'Abbās b. 'Isā b. Mūsā, the governor of Kufa. Muḥammad was notorious for his homosexuality and Zandaqa (al-Jahshiyāri, 131).

12. 'ALĪ B. 'UBAYDA AR-RAYḤĀNĪ was an eloquent scribe who served in the court of al-Ma'mūn. Fifty-six titles of works by him are listed by an-Nadīm. In his books, he adopted a philosophical approach (Nadīm, 133).

13. ABŪ ZUBAYR QUBAYS B. AZ-ZUBAYR was a scribe of 'Isā b. Musā and a friend of Yūnus b. Farwa and Ḥammād 'Ajrad (Aghānī (D), XIV, 353).

IV. The Theologians

1. SHAM'ALA B. 'ĀMIR. In his refutation of the Jahmiyya, ad-Dārimī compares them with the Zindīqs Mani and Sham'ala (ar-Radd 'alā l-Jahmiyya, 96). Sham'ala was, however, according to Ibn Ḥabīb, a Christian who was invited to convert to Islam by an Umayyad caliph, but refused (Aghānī (B), X, 99).

2. BAYĀN B. SAM'ĀN (d. 119/737). An Extremist Shiite who was together with al-Mughīra b. Sa'īd executed by Khālid al-Qasrī. Ibn Ḥibbān claims that he was a Zindīq (K. al-Majrūḥīn, I, 63).

3. AL-MUGHĪRA B. SA'ĪD (d. 119/737). Ibid., I, 63.

4. JA'D B. DIRHAM (d. c. 120/c. 737). A heretic who is accused of being a Zindīq by al-Maqdisī (al-Bad', VI, 54) and Nadīm (p. 401). Al-Balādhurī claims that he was either a Zindīq or a Dahrī (Ansāb al-Ashrāf, III, 100). Cf. G. Vajda, 'Ibn Dirham', EI^2, III, 747b-748a.

5. JAHM B. ṢAFWĀN (d. 128/745). He and his followers, the Jahmiyya, are called Zindīqs by ad-Dārimī, ar-Radd 'alā l-Jahmiyya, 94.

6. ABŪ 'ABD ALLAH 'ABD AL-MALIK (?) A Zindīq who had a disputation with Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765) (al-Kulaynī, al-Kāfī, I, 72).

7. ABŪ ḤANĪFA, Nu'mān b. Thābit (d. 150/767). Zandaqa was attributed to him by some of his opponents. See al-Khaṭīb, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, XIII, 382-383; Wakī', Akhbār Quḍāt, III, 358.

8. IBN ABĪ L-'AWJĀ' (d. 155/772). Tabarī, III, 376; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-Ashrāf, III, 96; al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, IV, 223-224; Dīwān Bashshār, IV, 111; Aghānī (D), III, 147; Nadīm, 401; al-Maqdisī, al-Bad', I, 90. His Zandaqa is discussed by G. Vajda, RSO, XVII (1939), 193-196.

9. IBN ṬĀLŪT. His name is recorded in the list of Nadīm (p. 401) among the Zindīq theologians. Nothing is known about his life. The later author Ibn Nubāta (Sarḥ al-'Uyūn, 293) mentions a certain Ṭālūt b. 'Aṣam, by whom Bayān b. Sam'ān was influenced in his heretical ideas,* and claims that Ṭālūt was a Zindīq. A relation between the latter and Ibn Ṭālūt is assumed by some scholars (A. Afshār-Shīrāzī, Mānī wa Dīn-i ū, 289). It seems more likely that Ibn Ṭalūt is to be identified with Isḥāq b. Ṭālūt who together with Ibn Abī l-'Awjā' and an-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir is mentioned as a Zindīq and heretic by al-Jāḥiẓ (Ḥujaj an-Nubuwwa : Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ, 145).

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* Here Ibn Nubāta confusingly identifies Ṭālūt b. 'Aṣam with Labīd b. 'Aṣam, the Jew who is said to have bewitched the Prophet. But in the earlier sources Ṭālūt is known as a nephew of Labīd b. 'Aṣam.

10. ABŪ SHĀKIR. His name, together with that of his nephew, is recorded by Nadīm (p. 401) among the Zindīq theologians.

He is presumably to be identified with Abū Shākir ad-Dayṣānī, who had a disputation with Imām Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq

11. The nephew of ABŪ SHĀKIR. Nadīm, p. 401.

12. ḌIRĀR B. 'AMR (lived c.180/796) .

He was accused of Zandaqa before the qāḍī Sa'īd b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Jumaḥī (d. 174/790?) (Wakī', Akhbār al-Quḍāt, III, 191. Cf. J. van Ess, der Islam, XLIV (1968), 6; M. Watt, The Formative Period, 190, 195).

13. THUMĀMA B. ASHRAS (d. 213/828), the Mu'tazilite theologian, was also accused of being a Zindīq by his contemporaries (Ṭayfūr, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, 40; al-Khaṭīb, Ta'rikh Baghdād, VII, 148; cf. Nadīm, 207, n.1.)

14. JA'FAR AL-AḤMARĪ. According to al-Bayhaqī (al-Maḥāsin wa l-Masāwī, II, 169) he was the author of the Uss al-Ḥikma and Bustān al-Falsafa, and was imprisoned on a charge of Zandaqa and tried by the Caliph al-Mahdī.

15. JAHJĀH. The identity of this person is unknown to us. From scattered information in the works of al-Jāḥiz (al-Bukhalā', 4; al-Ḥayawān, III, 9; IV, 20; V, 14)

one gathers that he was a theologian with heretical ideas. Ṭāhā al-Ḥājirī, the editor of al-Bukhalā' (pp. 257-258) identifies him with Abū l-Jahjāh (mentioned in al-Bukhalā', 45) and Jahjāh Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd (mentioned in al-Ḥayawān, II, 311).

An anecdote recorded by al-Bayhaqī (al-Maḥāsin wa l-Masāwī, II, 161) represents the Caliph ar-Rashīd as asking him "Are you a Zindīq?" "How can I be while I recite the Koran and practise the religious duties?" he replied. "By God! I will strike you until you confess" the Caliph said. "That is against the command of God, which recommends that you should strike people until they confess the Faith, while you are going to strike me until I confess kufr" he replied. (Al-Maḥāsin wa l-Masāwī, II, 169. Ṭ. al-Ḥājirī in his notes on al-Bukhalā' (p. 258) quoted this anecdote from a manuscript of Nathr ad-Durar by al-Manṣūr b. al-Husayn al-Abī al-Wazīr.

16. IBN AL-A'MĀ AL-ḤARĪRĪ. Nothing is known about him apart from his name which is recorded by Nadīm (p. 401) in the list of Zindīq theologians. Flügel's ed. of an-Nadīm reads his name as 'Ibn al-A'dā'.

V. The Poets

1. ḤAMMĀD AR-RĀWIYA (95-155/715-772). His Zandaqa is mentioned in: al-Ḥayawān, IV, 447; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭabaqāt, 69; Ibn Qutayba, ash-Shi'r, 779; ash-Shābushtī, ad-Diyārāt, 161; Aghānī, V, 166; XIII, 70.

2. ḤAMMĀD 'AJRAD (d. 161/778). A celebrated Zindīq whose Zandaqa is mentioned in: al-Ḥayāwan, IV, 447; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭabaqāt, 69; Ibn Qutayba, ash-Shi'r, 779; ash-Shābushtī, ad-Diyārāt, 161; Aghānī (D), XIII, 70, 71; X, 102; XIII, 74; V, 166. See above pp. 237-243.

3. ḤAMMĀD B. AZ-ZIBRIQĀN. The friend of the other two Ḥammāds, whose Zandaqa is mentioned along with theirs in the same sources which discuss the other two.

4. ḤAMMĀD B. YAḤYĀ. Apart from the account of al-Isfahānī (Aghānī (D), XIV, 369) which gives his name among the Zindīq companions of Muḥammad b. Abī l-'Abbās, there is no further reference to him in our sources. The authenticity of the name is, however, open to doubt.

5. YAḤYĀ B. ZIYĀD. The poet who was famous for his wit, and wrote many panegyrical poems for al-Mahdī. His father was the maternal uncle of the Caliph as-Saffāḥ. He and his brother, Muḥammad, were in addition eloquent scribes. His Zandaqa is mentioned in al-Marzubānī, Mu'jam, 486; Aghānī, XII, 77; XVII, 15; ash-Shābushtī, ad-Diyārāt, 161; al-Khaṭīb, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, XIV, 106-107. See above p. 199. In the

account quoted by al-Mas'ūdī he is reckoned among the authors of books on Zandaqa (Murūj, IV, 223-224. Cf. above p. 115.

6. MUṬĪ' B. IYAS (d. 166/783). Al-Ḥayawān, IV, 447; al-Marzubānī, Mu'jam ash-Shu'arā', 455; Aghānī (B), XII, 77-78; XX, 174; ash-Shābushtī, ad-Diyārāt, 161. His daughter was also a Zindīq (Aghānī, XII, 85). See above pp. 196-197.

7. ṢĀLIḤ B. 'ABD AL-QUDDŪS (d. 167/783). His Zandaqa is mentioned in al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīkh, III, 133; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭabaqāt, 90; Nadīm, 185, 401; Aghānī (B), XIII, 13-14; al-Khaṭīb, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, IX, 303-304. See above pp. 201-211.

8. BASHSHĀR B. BURD (95-167/714-787). He was a well-known Zindīq in his time and was executed on a charge of Zandaqa. See above pp. 212-227.

9. SA'D B. QA'QĀ'. In the account reported by al-Isfahānī he is introduced as a friend of Bashshār b. Burd (Aghānī (D), III, 185. Cf. above p. 222.

10. DHŪ KUNĀR, 'Ammār b. 'Amr. A Kufi profligate poet and a friend of the Zindīqs Ḥammād ar-Rāwiya and Muṭī' b. Iyās (Aghānī, XX, 174). His Zandaqa was probably licentiousness.

11. ḤURAYTH. Ḥurayth b. 'Amr was a friend of Ḥammād 'Ajrad and like him was accused of Zandaqa (Aghānī, X,

102). This Ḥurayth is probably to be identified with Ḥurayth b. Abī ṣ-Ṣalt al-Ḥanafī, whose avarice is mentioned in a humorous poem of Ḥammād ʻAjrad (Ibn Qutayba, ash-Shiʻr, 780. Cf. al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān, III, 241; Aghānī (D), XIV, 339).

In a satire Bashshār accused Ḥammād ʻAjrad and his friend Ḥurayb of being dualists (Aghānī, XIII, 74; Dīwān Bashshār, IV, 208). Hurayb (حريب) in this passage may be a misreading for حريث in which case the latter could be identified with Ḥurayth b. ʻAmr.

12. ĀDAM B. ʻABD AL-ʻAZĪZ. The grandson of the Umayyad Caliph ʻUmar b. ʻAbd al-Azīz. The accusation against him of Zandaqa, which was apparently licentiousness, caused him to be arrested and brought before al-Mahdī (Aghānī, XIV, 60-61. An-Nadīm, 184 also mentions his Zandaqa). See above p. 157.

13. ʻALĪ B. KHALĪL. A Kūfī and mawlā of the Banū Shaybān, who had a close friendship with Ṣāliḥ b. ʻAbd al-Quddūs and other Zindīqs. His name is recorded among the Zindīq poets by al-Jāḥiẓ (al-Ḥayawān, IV, 447) and an-Nadīm (p. 401). When Ṣāliḥ b. ʻAbd al-Quddūs was arrested on a charge of Zandaqa, ʻAlī was arrested but soon after was discharged and set free (Aghānī, III, 14, 15).

14. ḤAFṢ B. ABĪ WAZZA. Little is known about him. Al-Isfahānī mentions his Zandaqa and his friendship with Ḥammād ʻAjrad (Aghānī (D), XIV, 351. The Būlāq

edition reads: Abī Burda).

15. ABŪ L-WALĪD. In the chapter on the poets, an-Nadīm (p. 184) mentions him by the name 'Abū l-Walīd az-Zindīq', stating that his dīwān contains 600 lines.

16. WĀLIBA B. AL-ḤUBĀB. The celebrated licentious poet who was the master of Abū Nuwās. His Zandaqa, which is apparently licentiousness, is mentioned in al-Ḥayawān, IV, 92; Aghānī (B), XII, 81; XIII, 148.

17. SULAYMĀN B. AL-WALĪD (d. 179/795), the elder brother of the celebrated poet Muslim b. al-Walīd (Ibn Qutayba, 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, III, 61; Yāqūt, Ubabā', XI, 255) who was, according to al-Jāḥiẓ (al-Ḥayawān, IV, 195), influenced by his contemporary Bashshār b. Burd and followed his religious views.

18. SALM AL-KHĀSIR (d. 186/802). He was a pupil of Bashshār b. Burd and a panegyrist of al-Mahdī (Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭabaqāt, 99-106; al-Khaṭīb, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, IX, 136; Aghānī, XXI, 73-84). His Zandaqa is mentioned in Nadīm, 401 and Aghāni

19. JAMĪL B. MAḤFŪZ. In a satire, Abū sh-Shamaqmaq (d.c. 200/815) accused him of being a Zindīq (Aghānī, XVI, 143), and his name is in the list of al-Jāḥiz (al-Ḥayawān, IV, 47).

20. MUNQIDH B. 'ABD AR-RAḤMĀN AL-HILĀLĪ. His name occurs among a group of the Zanādiqa mentioned by al-Iṣfahānī (Aghānī (B), XVI, 148) and nothing more is known about him. Al-Murtaḍā (Amālī, I, 90) who quoted his list from al-Jāḥiẓ, gives his name among the Zindīqs, although in the list of the latter there is no reference to Munqidh. In his quotation from the al-Aghāni, the later author Ibn Ḥajar (Lisān, II, 321) records his name as 'Sa'd' instead of 'Munqidh'.

21. MUḤAMMAD B. MUNĀDHIR (d. 198/813-4). His accusation on a charge of Zandaqa is mentioned in Aghānī, XVII, 9, 18, 29.

22. ABŪ NUWĀS, al-Ḥasan b. Hāni' (d. 199/877). His name does not occur in the list of al-Jāhiz and an-Nadīm, but other sources indicate his notoriety as a Zindīq in his time. See above pp. 244-248.

23. ABĀN B. 'ABD AL-ḤAMĪD AL-LĀḤIQĪ (d. 200/815-6). He was accused of being a Manichee by his contemporaries (Aghānī (B), XX, 74; Dīwān Abī Nuwās (G), 543-544), and his name is recorded by al-Jāḥiẓ (al-Ḥayawān, IV, 447) in his list of the Zanādiqa. See above pp. 228-236.

24. 'ALĪ B. THĀBIT. He was one of the Zindīq poets (Nadīm, 401) and was an intimate friend of Abū l-'Atāhiya (Aghānī, III, 147).

25. ABŪ L-'ATĀHIYA, Ismā'il b. al-Qāsim (130-211/748-828). His contemporaries accused him of being a

Manichaean Zindīq (Aghānī, III, 216-183). Ibn Qutayba (ash-Shi'r, 791, 794) and Ibn al-Mu'tazz (Ṭabaqāt, 228, 364) mention his Zandaqa, and the latter confirms that he was a dualist. The case of his Zandaqa is examined by G. Vajda, RSO, XVII (1938), 215, 220, 225-228.

26. ISḤĀQ B. KHALAF (d. c. 230/895). An-Nadīm (p. 401) accounted him among the Zindīq poets. He was one of the Shuṭṭār , who was imprisoned for murder (Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭabaqāt, 292).

27. IBRĀHĪM B. SAYĀBA (d. 278/891). His father's name is recorded in some sources as Shabāba. He is one of the Zindīq poets in an-Nadīm's list (p. 401). As a result of a charge of Zandaqa he was arrested and his books were searched, but nothing was found and he was discharged and appointed a secretary of the Caliph al-Mahdī. He was later found guilty however and was dismissed (Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ṭabaqāt, 93). Aṭ-Ṭabarī (III, 517) who mentions his Zandaqa, says that he informed about the Zandaqa of 'Abd Allāh the son of Abū 'Ubayd Allāh the vizier. In an improper anecdote in Aghānī (XI, 7) he declares to a young boy that pederasty is the first law of Zandaqa.

APPENDIX B
THE LEADERS OF THE MANICHEES OF IRAQ

Mihriyya

MIHR
(cont. of al-Walīd I, 86-96/705-715;
and Khālid al-Qasrī, 105-120/722-738)

Dīnāwariyya
(c. late 7th cent. A.D.)

ZĀD HURMUZ
(cont. of al-Ḥajjāj, 75-95/694-714)

MIQLĀṢ

ABŪ HILAL AD-DAYḤŪRI
(cont. of al-Manṣūr, 136-158/754-775)

ABŪ SA'ĪD RAJA'

BUZURMIHR

ABŪ 'ALĪ SA'ID
(cont. of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim
198-227/813-842)

NAṢR B. HURMUZ AS-SAMARQANDĪ

ABŪ 'L-ḤASAN AD-DIMASHQĪ

Those whose sect is unknown

YAZDĀNBAKHT
(cont. of al-Ma'mūn, 198-218/813-833)

ABŪ YAḤYĀ AR-RA'ĪS

ABŪ SA'ĪD
(alive in 217/832)

APPENDIX C

JESUS IN MANICHAEISM

In his satire against Abān al-Lāḥiqī, Abū Nuwās, accusing him of being a Manichee, says:

"I said: ''Īsā is an Apostle.'
He said '/Ȳes/, of Satan.'"[1]

After quoting the satire, al-Jāḥiẓ expresses his astonishment that Abū Nuwās, who was familiar with the theologians, should attribute to a people (i.e. the Manichees) a doctrine in which they do not believe, and asks how a Manichee, who greatly glorifies Jesus, could say that He is the Apostle of Satan.[2]

Al-Jāḥiẓ is quite correct in making the point that in Manichaeism Jesus occupies a highly important position, but nevertheless Abū Nuwās' remarks must have a certain base among the creeds of the Manichees, or at least among the views of their opponents about them. In the extant Manichaean texts there is no reference to such a belief that Jesus was the Apostle of Satan. There is only an account in an-Nadīm's chapter on Manichaeism which states: "In his books Mani belittled the other prophets, finding fault with them and accusing them of falsehood, asserting that the devils had gained mastery over them and spoken by means of their tongues. In some places in his books he said that they were devils and he stated that Jesus,

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1. See above, p. 228.
2. Al-Ḥayawān, IV, 450-451.

who is famous among us /the Muslims/ and among the Christians was Satan."[3]

Although Mani rejected the Israelite prophets[4] (whom an-Nadīm meant by 'other prophets'), the entertaining of such an idea about Jesus, who is in fact highly respected, seems peculiar. In order to solve the problem we should examine the Christology of the Manichaean system.

In the book of Shāpūrgān, as it is quoted by al-Bīrūnī, Mani, dealing with the continuous coming of Wisdom (al-Ḥikma) and the Works (al-A'māl) by means of the Apostles of God, states that "at a certain time it was Buddha in India, in another era Zoroaster in Persia and in another period Jesus in the West. Then this revelation descended and this prophecy came in this last era in the figure of myself, of Mani, the Apostle of the true God in Babylonia."[5] This statement is also found in other Manichaean sources such as the Coptic Kephalaia and the Homilies.[6]

But Jesus was not merely an Apostle of God and immediate predecessor of Mani. Mani proclaimed himself the Paraclete (al-Fāraqlīṭ) promised by

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3. Nadīm, 398; Eng. tr. 794.
4. Burkitt, The Religion of the Manichees, 82.
5. Al-Āthār al-Bāqiya, 207, Eng. Tr.
6. See Ort, 121-122. The statement is found in St. Ephraim's Prose Refutations, II, xcviii.

Jesus,[7] and according to Augustine he also called himself the Apostle of Jesus.[8]

The Jesus revered by Mani has a different nature from the Jesus Christ of Orthodox Christian theology and also from the Jesus of the four Gospels, although Mani does mean the same 'Jesus who appeared in Judea.'[9]

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7. Nadīm, 392; al-Bīrūnī, al-Āthār al-Bāqiya, 207. The word 'Paraclete' ('the Holy Spirit') is used as a title for Mani in some Coptic Manichaean hymns (see L. Ort, 232-236, 246, 249, 250, 256). In the Coptic Manichaean book Kephalaia it is also applied to the 'Twin' who brought the revelation to Mani. G. Widengren finds a relation between these two usages of the term in the fact that Mani claimed to be one with his Twin, the Holy Spirit (Widengren, 26-27; cf. Ort, 93-94).

The pioneer 18th century writer on Manichaeism, Isaac de Beausobre, denied that Mani ever proclaimed himself to be the Paraclete, and recently L. Ort (p.94) rejecting all Christian influence on Mani maintained that the identification of Mani with the Paraclete was an innovation of Western Manichaeism, an adaptation to Christianity for missionary purposes. But Gilles Quispel, referring to the familiarity of Mani with the Diatessaron version of the Gospel of John, asserts that Mani conceived himself to be an apostle, a sent one, because Christ had sent to him the Paraclete (Gnostic Studies, II, 234-236).

8. The assumption of L. Ort (p.94) that this title was an innovation of Western Manichaeism seems more probable since in the Persian Manichaica there is no reference to such a statement. The suggestion of G. Quispel (op. cit., 236) that Mani from his very youth was thoroughly familiar with the primitive Christian concept, and the idea of the apostle of Christ, seems insufficient to prove Mani himself declared himself to be the apostle of Jesus.

9. Burkitt, op. cit., 39.

As we have seen in the passage of the Shāpūrgān, Jesus is placed on a level with Buddha, Zoroaster and Mani, which implies that He was regarded a mere man. On the other hand some Christian authors (such as Titus of Bostra and Augustine) represent Mani as holding a Docetic Theory with regard to Jesus, namely that He was not born of a woman and that His body was a phantom.[10] It is also understood that the Manichees denied the Crucifixion.[11] Of how He came to be in this world and who He was, no explanation is given in Manichaean literature. Mani's view of the historical Jesus was partly derived from that of the Marcionites.[12] Jesus was not crucified but someone else was crucified by mistake.[13] The fact that the Muslim writers say little on this point of Christology in Manichaeism, as A.A. Bevan asserts, may be due to the fact that here their own views happened to resemble those of the Manichees.[14]

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10. A.A. Bevan, 'Manichaeism', ERE, VIII, 398a.
11. Ibid., 398b.
12. As already mentioned Marcion, by whom Mani was apparently influenced, held a Docetic view. Rejecting the birth of Jesus he believed in the sudden appearance of Christ in the year 29 as an entirely new phenomenon without any root in the past history either of the people or of the human race. While he regarded the life of Christ on earth and His crucifixion as the means of salvation for men he nevertheless believed that He suffered only in appearance. N. McLean, 'Marcionism', ERE, VII, 408b.
13. Burkitt, op. cit., 41.
14. Bevan, op. cit., 398b.

An-Nadīm, who enumerates the chapters of Mani's book, the Sifr al-Asrār, indicates that some chapters of that book are devoted to Jesus. Nothing of this book has survived to illustrate Mani's views on Christology, but the title of one chapter "the son of the widow, that is to say according to Mani the crucified Messiah whom the Jews crucified"[15] would seem to give some indication of Mani's view on the Crucifixion. The contemptuous expression "the son of the widow" (Ibn al-Armala) indicates that in Mani's view the Crucified was other than Jesus Christ.

A.A. Bevan quotes a statement from the De Fide contra Manichaeos of Euodius, a friend of Augustine, which indicates that in the Manichees' view the crucified Jesus was regarded as 'The Prince of Darkness' i.e. Satan: "The enemy who had hoped to have crucified the very Saviour and Father of the Just, was himself crucified, for at that time something happened, but something else was shown. Indeed it was the Prince of Darkness who was attached to the cross, it was he who bore the thorny crown with his associates and wore the purple cloth and who also drank vinegar and gall, which some believed to have been drunk by the Lord, and all those things which the Lord was seen to suffer, were inflicted upon the leaders of darkness, who were also wounded by the lance and the nails."[16]

Thus, we can conclude that the Jesus who was

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15. Nadīm, 399.
16. Bevan, op. cit., 398b, quoted from PL, xlii, 1147.

called the Devil according to an-Nadīm, or the Apostle of the Devil, according to Abū Nuwās, was the crucified one, not Jesus Christ, the Apostle of God who has a high position in Manichaeism. It may be presumed that the statement used by an-Nadīm existed in Arabic Manichaean literature which has not survived.

Finally, it should be noted that in the Manichaean mythology of the Creation there is another reference to a Jesus, who is the Saviour of Adam, and is called in some Manichaean texts the Luminous (or Splendour, Brilliant) Jesus.[17]

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17. See above, p. 70. Cf. Jackson, 249-253, 281-282; Burkitt, 31; Widengren, 60-61. This Saviour in some Manichaean texts is called by a different name (Ort, 137). An-Nadīm (p. 394) calls him only ʻĪsā. The idea of this Saviour is found in Bardaisan's system as well, by which Mani might have been influenced. Cf. Burkitt, 76-77.

APPENDIX D

HEAD-VENERATING

An allegation was current among the 2nd/8th century people of Iraq that the Zindīqs (Manichees) venerated the 'head', and this is reflected in certain poems. In a satire against Ḥammād 'Ajrad, playing with the word ra's in the meanings of 'head' and 'principle', Bashshār says:

> "O Ibn Nihyā! it is difficult for me to
> bear one head
> The bearing of two heads would be a
> great task
> Call someone else for the worship of Two
> /Gods, Principles/
> For I am busy with the One."[1]

After hearing this poem, Ḥammād said that he was nct annoyed by the satire itself, but by Bashshār's pretence of ignorance about Zandaqa in following the baseless belief of the common people who ascribed to the Zanādiqa the veneration of the head.[2]

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1. Aghānī (B), III, 64; XIII, 74; Dīwān, IV, 135-6. Ironically, Ḥamza al-Isfahānī attributes this poem to Abū Nuwas, taking it as evidence for the genuine faith of Abū Nuwās. (Dīwān Abī Nuwās, Ms. Fātiḥ, no. 3775, fl. 120b).

According to one account, when Ḥammād heard the poem he made a minor alteration in the last hemistich, changing فانی بواحد مشغول 'for I am busy with the One' to فانی عن واحد مشغول 'for I am distracted from the One' wnich discredited Bashshār, and then circulated it. (Aghānī, XIII, 71).

2. Aghānī, XIII, 73.

In another satire addressed to Ḥammād, Bashshār says:

"He prefers the 'Head' to his Lord
And puts the Pork in his Provisions
You have been called 'the slave of the
Head'(Abd ar-Ra's) for loving it,
It is known to town-dweller and bedouin.[3]
He also says, attacking him:
'If fornication makes you happy
Bring the son of Sīmīn, Ḥammād
the two-headed (Dhu-r-Ra'sayn).'"[4]

While on an expedition against the Byzantines, al-Ma'mūm saw a group of Ḥarrānian pagans among the people who had come to meet him. His attention being attracted by their peculiar dress and appearance, the caliph asked them to which religious community they had belonged. After finding out that they were neither Christians nor Jews nor Magians, he told them: "Then you are Zanādiqa, idol-worshippers, Aṣḥāb ar-Ra's, who lived during my father's reign."[5]

The head as the most important part of the body has indeed been the subject of certain rites in various religions. In certain primitive communities, the skull was preserved separately from the body and was usually hung from the roof of the house, while the custom of preserving and making offerings to the heads of ancestors and a belief in their powers existed among some primitive

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3. Dīwān Bashshār, III, 95-96.
4. Ibid., 99.
5. Nadīm, 385; Eng. tr. 751.

tribes.[6] But in Manichaeism, as far as the present writer has been able to discover, there is no hint of any kind of head-venerating. We are informed, however, in another account given by an-Nadīm, that the veneration of the head was practised among the Ḥarrānian pagans, who believed in astrology and were known as Ṣābians from the beginning of the third century A.H. Quoting from the book of Abū Yusūf Īsha' al-Qaṭī'ī an-Naṣrānī, an-Nadīm says:

> "In accordance with what they believed about the looks of the planetary deities, when a man was found to have the appearance which they considered to be that of 'Uṭārid (Mercury), he was seized upon with trickery and deception, many things being done to him. One of these was that he was placed in oil and borax (būraq) for a long time, until his joints relaxed. He was in such a state that if his head was pulled, it was drawn up without tearing what it was fastened to. That is why there is an old saying, when one is under severe strain, 'He is in the oil.' This they did every year when Mercury was at its height. They supposed that the soul of this individual came to the head because of 'Uṭārid (Mercury). It spoke by its /the head's/ tongue, relating what was happening and replying to questions. They supposed that the individual's nature fitted and resembled the nature of Mercury more than that of other living creatures,

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6. See J.A. MacCulloch, 'Head', ERE, VI, 532-540.

> being more closely related to him than to others in connection with speech, discernment, and other things which they believed him to possess. This was the reason for their exaltation of this head and deception by it."[7]

It seems most likely that this pagan cult was ascribed to the Zindīqs by their opponents, in the way that accusations of peculiar practices are often levelled against minority sects.[8]

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7. Nadim, 386; Eng. tr. 353-354.
8. Cf. the story of some Nestorian churches in Basra and Ubulla, which were destroyed by the order of ar-Rashīd, because a malicious courtier told him that some Christians worshipped the bones of the dead in those churches. When the truth about these sacred relics was explained to the caliph he rebuilt them. (A. Atiya, A Hist. of Eastern Christianity, 269).

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⌜ ⌟ indicates the use of abbreviated forms.

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